THE TRUTH ABOUT KOREA

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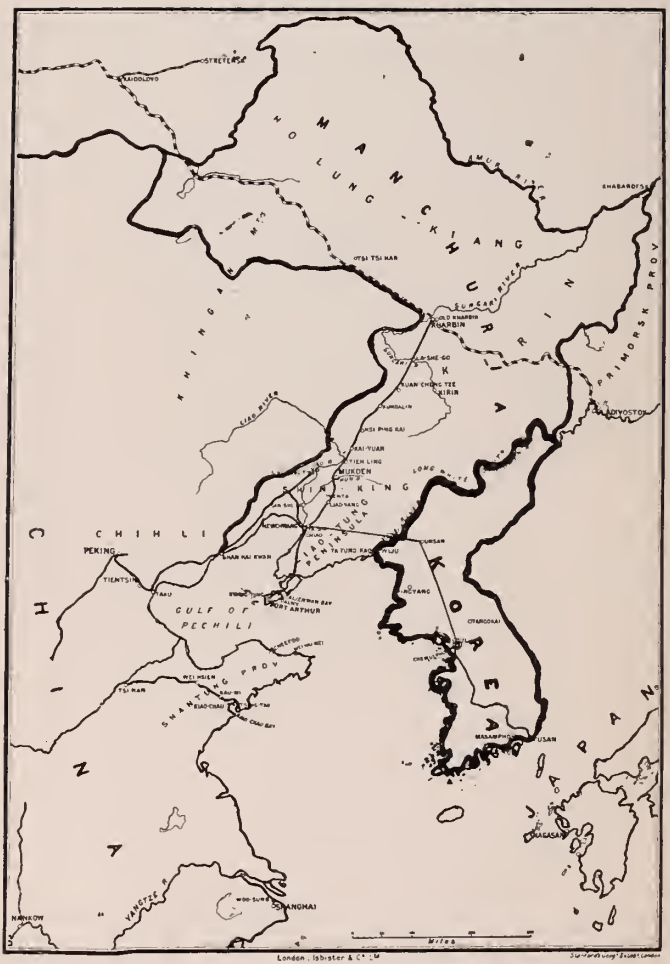
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MAP OF KOREA.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT KOREA

By

CARLTON WALDO KENDALL

(Delegate to the International Peace Conference, 1915)

SECOND EDITION

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This volume is dedicated
to the men and women of Korea
who have so heroically given their lives
that Freedom and Liberty may be
the inherent birth-right
of their posterity.

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FOREWORD

In presenting this volume, it is not my purpose to create a feeling of hostility against the Japanese people. I cannot believe that the kindly men and women of Japan approve the unnamable cruelties taking place today in Korea. Where I have used the term Japan or Japanese in connection with the Korean situation, I refer not to the Japanese people—the wives and daughters, husbands and sons of the Flowery Kingdom—but to that spirit of Military Autocracy which knows no conscience, no human regard nor tolerance, and crushes all who oppose it beneath the insatiable wrath of its iron heel.

It is that spirit which, while serving as a soldier in the United States Army, I took an oath to crush and to which end the remainder of my life is dedicated.

You who read this volume may feel that the people of Korea and the Orient have no common tie with the people of America and Europe, and that therefore we should not concern ourselves with their affairs. It is true that they are of a different nationality and a different race. But today, above all nationalities and all races, is a common tie—Justice and Humanity. And it is in the name of Justice and Humanity that I present this volume for your consideration, as a plea for the right of twenty million human beings to enjoy their personal freedom and liberty.

C. W. KENDALL.

Oakland, California, June 17, 1919.

The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquility of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.—Woodrow Wilson.

GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT KOREA

Korea is a "buffer" state. In the Orient she occupies a position analogous to Belgium in Europe. She is one of the oldest countries in existence. The exact date of her birth as a nation is unknown, probably about 2,000 B. C. Like Belgium, she is a country with a separate and distinct language, literature and customs.

In her early history, she was instrumental in spreading the Chinese culture from China to Japan. Amongst her most notable achievements was the early use of movable set type and the invention of the first iron-clad war vessel.

The country is somewhat the shape of Italy. It is a rich peninsula, extending out from the mainland of Asia, bounded on three sides by the sea and on the north by Manchuria and the Russian Maritime Province. Its 1,700-mile sea coast is rugged and dotted with many mountainous islands and good harbors. The largest port is Fusan, one hundred and sixty-three miles by water from Nagasaki, Japan, and a thriving commercial city with over a hundred thousand population. Korea is about twice the size of New York State.

In climate and density of population it is closely akin to the eastern United States. The principal industries are mining, agriculture and the catching of sea foods. Much of the mining is in the hands of foreigners. Formerly large concessions were granted to Americans, but of late years, as the leases expire, they have gradually been taken over by Japanese. The country is rich in undeveloped natural resources.

Rich, fertile river valleys, together with an abundance of salt-water fish, make Korea amply able to support its population of twenty million people. The number of foreigners in the country is constantly on the increase. At the present time there are over three hundred and fifty thousand Japanese. The other nationalities represented are, according

to the census of 1914: 16,882 Chinese, 687 Americans, 230 English, 97 French, 53 Germans and 14 Russians. Practically all the Americans in the country are either missionaries or engaged in mining.

The capital city is Seoul, with a population of close to three hundred thousand people. For centuries Korea was a free nation and ruled itself. But in the last few decades, as the Orient awakened from its slumbering lethargy, the little nation became the pawn in the struggle for Asiatic supremacy.

Like Belgium, Korea is situated between three great powers, each one ambitious to be the greatest—the Mistress of the Orient—so that in recent years the country and its people have been subject to a long succession of invasions. China, Russia and Japan have each had their turn at claiming a suzerainty over the country. But the latter, Japan, becoming more powerful in the Orient than the other two, could not resist the temptation to prey upon the little, helpless nation at her mercy, in order to be forever sure of the balance of power.

THE SEIZURE OF KOREA

At the opening of the Russo-Japanece war, Japan made a treaty with Korea in which she solemnly vowed to guarantee the independence of the "Hermit Kingdom," as it was then called. In return, Korea opened the country to Japan as a basis for her military operations against Russia and gave her material aid in the way of raw supplies. In doing this she ran the risk of devastation and seizure in case her ally was defeated.

But no sooner were Japanese arms proclaimed victorious than Japan began her first insidious operations to deliberately violate the terms of the treaty. To do it openly would have robbed her of the moral prestige as a coming great power. She therefore determined to make Korea ask to give up her independence and come under the suzerainty of Japan. So as soon as the treaty of peace was signed at Portsmouth, she forwarded to the Emperor of Korea a note to that effect. But the Emperor of Korea, foreseeing what would happen to his country and its people, determined to do all in his power to prevent such a catastrophe. His only hope was America.

In 1882 Korea and the United States had concluded a treaty in which they had mutually agreed to help each other in case of oppressive treatment by an outside power. So, in view of this treaty, he sent a personal note to the President of the United States asking his assistance. But before the note was fairly on its way, a Japanese spy on board the vessel discovered it and notified the government in Tokio the exact hour it would arrive in Washington.

Immediately Marquis Ito was dispatched to Seoul, with instructions to make Korea agree to a Japanese suzerainty. He arrived and after numerous conferences realized that Korea was determined to stand firm on the treaty of 1904, in which Japan had guaranteed her independence.

In the meantime, the date set for the arrival of the Emperor's note in Washington was rapidly approaching. It was now or never. On November 17, 1905—a little over two months and a half after the close of the war—the Marquis called a conference of the Korean Cabinet in the audience chamber of the Emperor.

During the week preceding this conference, the Japanese troops stationed at the capital had been making a great display of military force around the palace. They were equipped with field guns and the men were fully armed. They did everything short of actual violence to demonstrate to the Koreans the military prowess of Japan.

To the Cabinet Ministers and to the Emperor, all this display had a sinister and terrible meaning, for in 1895, under very similar circumstances, the Queen of Korea, who was opposed to Japanese rule, was barbarously murdered and her body burned in kerosene.

F. A. McKenzie, the British journalist, who was in Korea at the time, gives the following vivid account of what took place:

"That evening Japanese soldiers, with fixed bayonets, entered the courtyard of the palace and stood near the apartment of the Emperor. Marquis Ito now arrived, accompanied by General Hasegawa, commander of the Japanese Army in Korea.

"The Marquis demanded an audience of the Emperor. The Emperor refused to grant it, saying that his throat was very bad and he was in great pain. The Marquis then made his way into the Emperor's presence and personally requested an audience. The Emperor still refused. 'Please go away and discuss the matter with the Cabinet Ministers,' he said.

"Thereupon, Marquis Ito went outside to the Ministers. 'Your Emperor has commanded you to confer with me and settle this matter,' he declared.

"The acting Prime Minister, Han Kew Sul, jumped to his feet and said he would go and tell the Emperor of the

talk of traitors. Han Kew Sul was allowed to leave the room and then was gripped by the Japanese Secretary of the Legation, thrown into a sideroom, and threatened with death. Even Marquis Ito went out to him to persuade him. 'Would you not yield,' the Marquis said, 'if your Emperor commanded you?' 'No,' said Han Kew Sul, 'not even then!'

"This was enough. The Marquis at once went to the Emperor. 'Han Kew Sul is a traitor,' he said. 'He defies you, and declares that he will not obey your commands.'

"Meanwhile the remaining Cabinet Ministers waited in the Cabinet chamber. Where was their leader, the man who had urged them all to resist to the death? Minute after minute passed, and still he did not return. Then a whisper went around that the Japanese had killed him. The harsh voices of the Japanese grew still more strident. Courtesy and restraint were thrown off. 'Agree with us and be rich; or oppose us and perish.'

"In the early hours of the morning commands were issued that the seal of State should be brought from the Foreign Minister's apartment, and a treaty should be signed. Here another difficulty arose. The custodian of the seal had received orders in advance that, even if his master commanded, the seal was not to be surrendered for any such purpose. When telephonic orders were sent to him he refused to bring the seal along, and special messengers had to be dispatched to take it from him by force."

In this way Japan negotiated the treaty with Korea. Before the Emperor's note reached the President of the United States, she announced to the world that Korea had "voluntarily" become a protectorate of the Japanese Government and that all future diplomatic business would be conducted through the Japanese Embassy.

Five years later, in 1910, she concluded another treaty with the new Emperor of Korea, who was known to be mentally incapacitated from birth, and induced him to sign the country over completely. It then became a part of the Japanese nation—comprising about one-third of the whole empire.

Whether or not a single feeble-minded individual possessed the right to sign over a nation and the lives and future lives of twenty million people is for the reader to decide. At any rate, from that time on Korea came under the autocratic administration of the Japanese Empire.

JAPANESE AUTOCRATIC RULE

The nine years following the egregious annexation has been one of the most shameful pages in the history of the Japanese Empire. The heinous crimes committed by Japanese Military Autocracy have been carefully hidden from the world until the last few months.

The casual traveler visiting Korea has been shown only the more beautiful aspects of the country: the Japanese achievements, the material progress, the beautiful government museum in Seoul. The legalized robbery, the browbeating, the introduction of licensed public prostitution, the tortures in the prisons, the unnamable oppression and injustice—all these have been hidden from his gaze. He is told in his Japanese Railway Guidebook and traveler's pocket volumes how Japan—Japan the Magnificent Mistress of the Orient—has extended to Korea her brotherly love and assistance and is dragging from the depths of poverty, crime and immorality, the ignorant, worthless Koreans and striving to raise them to the level of her own glorious culture.

American correspondents, coming to the country, have been royally entertained, and—I am ashamed to say—bought up by the Japanese Governor-General, with the result that they have returned and written on the glories of Japanese reforms in Korea. For the consumption of Americans and Europeans there, the Governor-General has a subsidized organ, the Seoul Press, which is a daily English newspaper published to satisfy the Occidental desire for news and to disseminate the kind of news Japan wishes to make public.

For scholars, she prepared a well-illustrated volume and sent it gratis to all great men and important libraries in America and Great Britain. It is entitled the "Annual Report of Reforms and Progress in Chosen". In it she pictures vividly the "contentment and prosperity" that Japanese rule is bringing to the Koreans. Germany, at her cleverest, could not hold a candle to Japan when it came to "pulling the wool"

over the eyes of the Occident in regard to actual conditions under her autocratic rule.

Administration and "Reforms"

In the administration of Korea, Japan has done some things, in a material way, for the good of the country, such as constructing public buildings, introducing improvements in agriculture and extending the means of communication. But, as with Germany's administration of Belgium, over and above these material accomplishments she has introduced all the heinousness of Militarism.

As soon as Korea was annexed Japan began Japanizing the country. She put the government under military jurisdiction and appointed a Military Governor-General, who was given virtually all the powers of a Czar. Then, through him, she began to instigate a series of so-called "reforms".

One of the first of these "reforms" was to go through all the public archives and private libraries and systematically collect and burn Korean works of literature and history. Then she passed laws which completely stamped out all Korean periodical literature—from local newspapers to scientific journals. The only non-Japanese publications in Korea today are certain newspapers, published secretly and distributed from hand to hand like the famous Belgian newspapers. The type and hand presses are carried from place to place and the lives of the editors are as thrilling as the Japanese police can make them.

In addition to destroying the literature of Korea, priceless art treasures and historical objects have been lost to the world through needless vandalism.

Another of these "reforms" was an attempt to destroy the Korean language by making Japanese the official tongue, not only in public documents, but also in the schools. All textbooks were printed in Japanese under official Japanese supervision. The teachers were and are Japanese or Japanese-speaking Koreans.

Not only have the Japanese forbidden the Koreans to be

instructed in their own language, but they have instigated a series of educational regulations—under the pretext of unifying the educational system and bringing it up to a higher standard—which limit the amount of education a Korean can pursue. Religious services and the teaching of geography are forbidden in all the schools. Japanese history alone is permitted. All Korean and Western world histories are forbidden.

Korean scholars are not permitted to leave the country and go abroad for study, save to Japan. Here the students, under government supervision, are not allowed to specialize in such subjects as law, history or economics in the Imperial University of Tokyo. They are strongly advised to attend commercial or trade schools and are insidiously discriminated against in the higher institutions.

Under the guise of "educational reforms", a systematic attempt has been made to keep the Korean students in ignorance of the advantages of democracy and to hold them down mentally under the heel of Japanese Military Autocracy, so that the coming generation would be ignorant of the fundamentals of a just government and robbed of any possible leaders.

Economic Oppression

The oppression of Korea has not been confined to language and education alone. An economic oppression was inaugurated which has already brought ruin to thousands of Korean merchants and landholders. Although, statistically, the total wealth of the country has increased since Japanese occupation, the figures are due to the decrease in the buying value of money. Today the economic status of the Koreans is worse than it was under the old administration. Since the seizure of the country, over one million five hundred thousand Koreans have emigrated to China and Siberia, primarily because they could not stand the economic pressure brought to bear upon them by their conquerors.

Under the old Korean Government before annexation, the land was divided into four classes:

1. Private lands, owned by private individuals.

2. Royal lands, belonging to the king, but leased in perpetuity to private individuals, with the right of selling to another individual without changing the ownership and the privilege of inheritance.

3. Municipal lands, the titles of which belonged to the various municipalities, but the practical ownership of which was in the hands of private individuals.

4. Lands belonging to Buddhist Temples.

Owners of private lands paid taxes to the government; holders of royal lands paid tribute to the royal household; the owners of municipal lands paid fees to the respective municipalities which held the title of the lands, and the lands belonging to Buddhist Temples were free from taxation. These temple lands were held in communistic plan amongst the Buddhists.

One of the first deeds of the Japanese was to survey the country and confiscate all lands belonging to the royal household, to the municipalities and to the Buddhist Temples. They explained this act on the technical ground that since these lands did not belong to private individuals, they must be the property of the government. The Korean owners were dispossessed and driven out without remuneration and the land was leased or sold to Japanese farmers. In some cases where Koreans protested against the seizure, they were fastened to crude wooden crosses and shot.

Under the direction of the Japanese Government, the Oriental Colonization Company was organized to promote Japanese colonization of Korea and thus further Japanize the country. To induce emigrants to invade the peninsula, this company offered every Japanese settler free transportation to Korea and provided him with a home and a piece of land, to be paid for in three or four years. The plan in theory is identical with Bismarck's idea for Prussianizing Poland.

Another method by which the Japanese gained possession

(UPPER) THE DAI DONG RIVER NEAR PYENG YANG, WITH BUDDHIST TEMPLES IN THE FOREGROUND.
(LOWER) A LARGE AMERICAN MINE IN SOUTHERN KOREA.

of land was to force the Korean owners to sell at a ridiculously low figure. Rice is the chief agricultural product in Korea and the water, irrigating the rice fields, runs from one field to another in succession. The agents for the Oriental Colonization Company buy the rice patch through which the water runs to the desired piece of land. Then Japanese agents or "farmers" cut off the water supply, and the Korean owner, after vain protests, is finally forced to sell his now worthless land to the Oriental Colonization Company at their own figure or remain on it and starve.

Already one-third of the best land in Korea is in the hands of the Japanese.

Religious Oppression

In regard to religious matters: From the very first they have played a most important part. In 1912—two years after the annexation—Count Terauchi, the Governor-General, instituted what is known as the "persecution of the Korean Church".

Prominent churchmen, leaders in Korean thought and education, were charged with conspiracy and put in prison. American missionaries were dragged into the trial, accused of being connected with a plot to assassinate the Governor-General. The case attracted world-wide attention and protest. The Japanese prepared ready-made confessions and after secret tortures, the prisoners signed these confessions. In open court, however, under the protection of foreign opinion, the prisoners denied their confessions and upon investigation the confessions were found to be absolutely false. The case was known as the famous "Conspiracy Trial" and was the first time the civilized world penetrated beneath the veil of Japanese censorship and propaganda, and saw with horrified eyes the true conditions in Korea.

The absurdity of some of the charges against Korean Christians is well illustrated by the case of Pastor Kil of Ping Yang. He was charged with treason for

preaching against the evil of cigarette-smoking amongst boys. The analysis of the charge is a masterpiece for Jevons' Logic. It is as follows:

Pastor Kil preached against the use of cigarettes.

Cigarette manufacture is a government monopoly.

To speak against their use is to injure a government institution.

To injure a government institution is to work against the government.

To work against the government is treason.

Therefore Pastor Kil is guilty of treason.

This is but an example of the working of the Japanese courts in Korea.

Religious gatherings of more than five persons are required to obtain a permit from the government, and Christians are compelled to secure a special certificate permitting them to practice their religion. Such hymns as "Onward, Christian Soldiers," are not permitted to be sung on the presumption that they stimulate nationalism amongst the Koreans. Spies and detectives attend every large church gathering as well as the ordinary Sunday services.

At the present time, the foreign missionary force in Korea numbers about three hundred, with the American Presbyterian, Methodist and Catholic churches especially influential. The missionaries are practical, hard-working men and women and include all creeds—both Catholic and Protestant. They have opened hospitals and schools as well as churches and missions.

The Double Standard

The social, intellectual, moral and economic life of Korea is divided into two classes: one for Japanese and one for Koreans.

From the first, political favoritism and discrimination were installed. Socially, the Korean is the butt of Japanese scorn and ridicule and is lorded over and

humiliated whenever the opportunity presents itself. Never for a moment is he allowed to feel that he belongs to anything but an inferior race—a scum on the dregs of Oriental civilization.

From the princes of the Korean Royal Household to the lowest coolie every man, woman and child, in whose veins runs the proud blood of old Korea, is treated with a condescension which is an insult to humanity. They are man-handled for innocently transgressing the slightest government regulation. They are elbowed off the sidewalks, spat upon, and taken as the lawful prey of Japanese loan sharks and speculators. If a Korean has to mortgage his property or borrow money, the Japanese speculators charge him as high as 70 per cent per annum.

Everywhere the Double Standard is in vogue. The Koreans and Japanese are punished by two entirely different sets of laws. If a Japanese is arrested and convicted of a minor offense, he is fined. If a Korean is arrested and convicted of the same offense, he is given twenty or thirty lashes on his naked body until he is often beaten into insensibility. In the Japanese prisons today this barbaric custom of the Middle Ages—beating and flogging—is still used when dealing with Korean prisoners, even, according to reports, applied to old men and delicate girls and women. Not only beating and flogging, but torture and mistreatment in order to force confessions have been proven from time to time. The methods of torture used by the Japanese are said to be similar to the "rack" of the Middle Ages, putting the victim in the greatest misery and still leaving no visible marks upon his body—stretching the nerves and sinews and often causing total or partial paralysis.

Since the Japanese seizure of Korea, crime has been steadily on the increase. In 1911, there were 7,342 Korean convicts. And in 1915, according to the Jap-

anese statistics there were 14,411—almost double the number. One of the reasons for this doubling of convicts is to be found in the system of Japanese justice under the Double Standard.

A Korean is tried before a Japanese court, whose officials and judge are minions of the military autocracy. The justice he receives is the justice of the conqueror to the conquered. In 1915, the records of the summary courts—which correspond to our police courts—show only seven persons acquitted out of a total of 59,483 cases and only forty proven innocent. These courts handle minor offenses and the violation of administrative ordinances.

The Double Standard extends to government positions as well as to justice. The so-called Korean Mayors are only figureheads in the Japanese policy of "pulling the wool" over the eyes of the world. They are all required to employ a Japanese "advisor" or secretary, who tells them what to do and where to sign their names. These advisors are the de facto Mayors. They are paid, on an average, about twice the salary of the Mayor. For instance, the "advisor" of a certain Korean Mayor receiving 70 yen* a month is paid 150 yen for his services.

In a similar way every wealthy Korean is required to employ a Japanese steward. The Japanese steward keeps account of the Korean's income and expenditures and the capitalist cannot spend a single cent without his knowledge and sanction. This steward is backed by government authority. If a wealthy Korean spends any significant sum of money without the sanction of his Japanese steward, his property is liable to confiscation on the charge that he may be working against the government. For the same reason, no Korean is permitted to draw from a bank in Korea more than $500

*A yen is equal to fifty cents.

at a time. This works a severe hardship on the Korean merchant and gives the Japanese competitor a decided advantage in all cash transactions.

Another example of the Double Standard is the scale of wages paid laborers and skilled workmen. A Japanese common laborer receives over half again as much as a Korean laborer. The other wages are as follows:

	Japanese.				Koreans.			
Stone Mason	1.96	yen	per	day	1.02	yen	per	day
Plasterer	1.54	"	"	"	.96	"	"	"
Carpenter	1.44	"	"	"	1.00	"	"	"
Bricklayer	1.40	"	"	"	1.00	"	"	"
Blacksmith	1.20	"	"	"	.60	"	"	"
Compositor	.80	"	"	"	.45	"	"	"
Brewer (incl. board) .	16.00	"	"	mo.	7.00	"	"	mo.

The full extent to which the Double Standard has been practised will probably never be known. As far as possible, Japan has endeavored to keep it hidden from the eyes of the world. Like Germany repressed the truth about her rule in Belgium, Japanese Autocracy has issued misleading statements and repeated denials. The unutterable things they have done; the trickery and cunning, the secret discrimination, the mockery and double-dealing—all these have been carefully concealed from the world and especially from the justice-loving Americans and Europeans.

Probably no one can ever realize the untold suffering and heartaches caused by the nine years of Japanese rule and oppression. The misery and degradation, the sorrow and death, inflicted by Japanese Military Autocracy in Korea is too terrible and shameful a thing to dwell upon. The true awfulness of it will never be known—like the horrors in Armenia, Serbia and the conquered districts of Belgium and France.

THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

The Independence Movement in Korea is not a new thing. It began fourteen years ago, just after Japan had forced the Korean Cabinet to grant her a suzerainty and had stepped in to rule the people à contre coeur.

Many of the Korean leaders, seeing the futility of doing anything at that time to free their people from the powerful Military Autocracy whose yoke was already upon their necks, fled to foreign countries. Others who had tried, in the last desperate moments, to save their country and had failed were forced to seek safety in America and China. Gradually these refugees and patriots came together and organized associations, each member of which dedicated the remainder of his life to free the people at home from the hand of Japanese oppression. These associations were, for the most part, composed of Korean scholars and graduates from American universities and preparatory schools. They were not, as charged by the Japanese Government, composed of rabid radicals, disgruntled politicians, or Bolsheviki.

At the same time, societies with a similar purpose were organized in Korea in spite of the rigid Japanese spy system. The largest of these, the Chun Do Kyo, or "Heaven Worshipers," was encouraged by the Japanese authorities themselves. It was organized as a religious cult—supposedly opposed to Christianity—whose teachings were a combination of Buddhism, Tailism, ancestral worship and Korean superstition. In reality, it was a great political club whose members numbered over three million patriotic Koreans.

Quietly and with careful deliberation they prepared for the day when they could strike.

Then along came the European War and President Wilson's famous statement in his address to the Senate

in 1917 that " . . . henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own . . ."

The time to strike had come. When the Peace Conference, with its ideals of "self-determination," met in Paris, it gave to the oppressed Koreans the longed-for chance to place their problem before the world. So, at the opening of 1919, these exiled patriots went secretly to Korea and, in conjunction with the secret societies there, organized committees to begin the movement for re-establishing their independence.

Their work was quiet and effective. Their plan was to begin a "Passive Revolution". No one, not even the Japanese, was to be harmed. No property was to be destroyed or injured. No radicalism, no I. W. W.-ism, no Bolshevism was to be tolerated or associated in any way with the movement. But a persistent passive agitation was to be instituted and continued until success attended their object—freedom from Japanese Military Autocracy.

The Preparations

In the latter part of January, an event occurred which brought things to a head. The old ex-Emperor Yi passed away in his palace at Seoul. The circumstances of his death were very peculiar, which led to a report getting out among the people that he had committed suicide in order to prevent the consummation of the marriage of his son, Prince Kon, to the Japanese Princess Nashinoto. This wedding had been fixed for about January 29th—one week after the death of the ex-Emperor.

The Prince had formerly been engaged to a Korean girl, but this engagement was forcibly broken off when the Prince was taken to Japan some years ago. The

father of this girl is said to have died at almost the same time and under the very same peculiar conditions attending the ex-Emperor's death—so-called apoplexy—and again it was reported that suicide had been the real cause of death. These circumstances powerfully affected the people throughout the whole country, and the old ex-Emperor was greatly glorified and worshiped.

Therefore, it was determined to begin the demonstration on the date of his funeral, March 4th—for other reasons as well. A rigid spy system had been put in operation by the Japanese authorities. Under this system every Korean was registered like a criminal and given a number which was known to the police. Whenever a Korean left his home village or town, he was required to register at the police station, stating his reason for traveling and where he intended to go. The general plan was to make Seoul the center of activities, inasmuch as the foreign legations were there and the whole purpose of the movement was designed to gain recognition and publicity. A sudden influx of Koreans into Seoul, with no apparent cause, would immediately create suspicion on the part of the Japanese police. If, however, the country people came into the capitol to attend the ex-Emperor's funeral, no suspicion would be aroused. For this reason, as well as the other, March 4th was decided upon by the leaders.

In some way the news leaked out to the police authorities. But the Japanese police force and spy system were made up of a large number of native Koreans who the Japanese thought they had won over as their own tools. In reality these Koreans had slowly been creeping into the positions of policemen, stool-pigeons and gendarmes in order to be ready for the day their people were to strike against the hated Japanese. No sooner had the Japanese authorities been notified of the proposed demonstrations than they issued orders to these "supposed" Japanized detectives to get busy. These loyal Koreans immediately notified the leaders, who, with but a few days before them, suddenly

changed the date to Saturday, March 1st—the day for the rehearsal of the funeral.

The rehearsal for a Korean funeral is almost as magnificent as the event itself; so the sudden influx of Koreans into Seoul at the rate of five thousand a day to witness the rehearsal was nothing extraordinary. In the meantime, the most prominent representatives of all classes, religions and sects had drawn up a Declaration of Independence and signed it. Copies of this, as well as instructions as to what was expected of the people, were sent to the local leaders all over Korea through the aid of loyal little schoolgirls who hid them in their capacious sleeves and trudged from town to town, bringing the messages of freedom.

It was arranged for passive demonstrations to break out simultaneously in all the large cities and towns in the peninsula; also in Tokio, Shanghai and various other cities in Japan, China, Manchuria, Russia, the United States and other countries.

In Seoul itself the people were to divide into groups of three thousand each—each group under a leader—and to march to different consulates and government offices, singing Korean national airs and shouting "Mansai," which is the Korean for "Hurrah." They were not to resist the Japanese Police. If they were beaten, imprisoned or even killed they were to take their punishment without complaint, and to do nothing which would bring reproach upon the name of Korea or their movement.

The Opening Demonstration

The night before the demonstration was to begin, twenty-nine of the thirty-three signers of the Declaration of Independence gathered in Seoul. After a meeting in which final arrangements were checked up and the proclamation read aloud for the first time, they all adjourned to a prominent restaurant for a last dinner together. It was one of the most singular banquets ever held in the history of any

nation. Each man present realized that as soon as the proclamation, bearing his signature, was in the hands of the Japanese authorities he would be hunted down and executed or thrown into prison. All of them were acquainted with the efficiency and methods of the Japanese spy system. They knew that to attempt to escape would be useless. So when the banquet was completed and the last toast spoken they went to the telephone, called up the Japanese police, told them what they had done and that they were ready to go to prison. Then consecrating their lives to the freedom of Korea, they calmly awaited the arrival of the government authorities. No resistance was offered when the police arrived. They were bundled into automobiles and taken away to prison. One of the signers, having arrived too late to participate in the meeting and dinner, went directly to the prison and asked to be treated the same as the others.

The next day, March 1st, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the Independence Movement began simultaneously in every large city in Korea. At the appointed hour the people gathered at a previously designated place to attend the meetings preceding the demonstrations. What happened at these meetings is best told by an American missionary who witnessed the one at Pyeng Yang, the old capitol of Korea. It is as follows:

"March 1: There has been considered suppressed excitement for some days among the Koreans, and we had various rumors that something important was going to take place. Dr. Moffett, Mr. Holkcrott and myself decided to attend the local meeting and see for ourselves what was going on. We found the courtyard full of people. The pupils of all our church schools were there and also many from the government schools.

"In front of the entrance to the building was erected a speakers' stand and around and back of this were seated several of the (Korean) pastors and officers of the Presbyterian churches of the city. Rev. Kim Sundu, pastor of

the Fifth Church and moderator of the general assembly, was speaking when I entered. Pastor Kang Kyu-Chan of the Fourth Church had already spoken, reviewing the life history of the late Emperor. After Kin Sundu had finished speaking he requested the people to remain seated, as there were other things to be done.

"After the benediction had been pronounced Kim Sundu proceeded to read what was virtually a Declaration of Independence of the Korean people. After he had finished another man took the floor and explained what the people were expected to do, saying that nothing of an unlawful nature was to be permitted, but that the people were to follow the instructions given and make no resistance to the authorities or attack the Japanese people or officials.

"Kang Kyu-Chan then addressed the people relative to independence. When he had finished some men came out of the building bearing armloads of small Korean flags, which were passed out to the people. A large Korean flag was then fastened to the wall back of the speakers' stands and then the crowd went wild, shouting 'Mansai' and waving flags. It was then explained to them that they were to all form in procession and parade the streets waving flags and saying nothing but 'Mansai, Mansai.'"

After these preliminary meetings the people formed in parades, headed by their local leaders, and, waving flags and shouting, marched through the streets. In the new capitol, Seoul, students of the colleges, high schools and primary schools, numbering several thousand, and all clad in the spotless white of the Korean costume, gathered at Pagoda Park. From here, after their meeting, they marched through the main streets to the public square, where they divided into the groups of three thousand each, as prearranged, and went to the foreign consulate buildings. The various consuls appeared and greeted them.

From its incipiency, the demonstration, taken as a whole, followed the instructions of the leaders to the letter. It was "passive" in all its aspects. The people were unarmed and

the parades were composed of old men and women, as well as young men and students. They simply jammed through the streets singing the Korean National Anthem, which is set to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne," waving flags and shouting. Foreigners who witnessed the demonstrations say they were one of the most singular sights they have ever seen. The great white-clad crowds, surging and pulsating with the reawakaned freedom, surrounded on all sides by the very Japanese who had inflicted upon them unnameable tortures and depredations—and yet, when at last they had the chance to wreak vengeance for their wrongs, refraining from so doing because they felt it would bring reproach upon the honor of their native land.

When we realize that for every 1000 Koreans there are only 17 Japanese we can understand what would have happened if the demonstrations had not been passive.

The Japanese Police

At first the police did not know what to do with the people. Many of the Korean policemen and supposed spies took off their uniforms and joined the crowds.

In Seoul hundreds of gendarmes—armed with swords and rifles—followed the demonstrators and tried to scatter them. But as soon as they had been scattered in one place they gathered elsewhere with more participants than ever. One party of demonstrators marched to the Japanese quarter, where the police charged them with fixed bayonets and arrested fifteen students, including six girls. Those arrested went unresisting to jail. Soon the jails were filled to overflowing.

At nightfall the crowd disappeared, but an hour later two hundred students, from the Shinsung Academy, assembled before the school and gave three cheers for the independence of Korea. Then they began to march the streets and some of the people distributed copies of the Declaration of Independence at the police court and county jail. Some addressed the crowd while others distributed literature. Imme-

(UPPER) JAPANESE SOLDIERS GUARDING PAGODA PARK TO PREVENT FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS.
(LOWER) SCENE IN SEOUL ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE PASSIVE DEMONSTRATION.

diately the police called out the military, who, without hesitation, charged the demonstrators with fixed bayonets, terribly wounding many—women and old people being among the victims.

Women and children were knocked down with the butts of rifles. Innocent spectators were beaten and kicked by Japanese civilians and firemen, as well as by policemen and gendarmes. Throughout the smaller cities, where there were no foreigners, the conditions were much worse. In some instances, it is reported, the gendarmes fired upon the mobs until their ammunition was exhausted.

The Japanese Government promptly began a denial and suppression of the facts, issuing to the outside world only what it wished the outside world to know and scrupulously avoiding any mention of slaughter and massacres. The trouble was minimized in the official reports into a few local disturbances, said to have been egged on by misled leaders.

An attempt was made to force prominent Koreans to sign a statement, to be forwarded to the Peace Conference in Paris, stating that the Declaration of Independence and the movement in general was promulgated by a low class of people and did not represent the sentiment of Korea.

Japanese officials in America issued statements denying the atrocities. Some foreigners, who had received favoritism at the hands of the military autocracy and were pro-Japanese, bitterly denounced the movement. But beneath the veil of censorship and denial the passive demonstration continued and the Japanese police and gendarmes committed acts which were as far against the laws of humanity and civilization as the Turkish deeds in Armenia.

Atrocities and Massacres

At the town of Cheam-ni, forty-five miles from Seoul, the Japanese soldiers arrived and ordered all the male Christians to gather at the church. When they had as-

sembled, the soldiers deliberately opened fire on them with their rifles, massacring thirty-five. This was confirmed by investigation of the British and American consular agents, and is admitted by the Japanese authorities, including Governor-General Hasegawa.

Soochung, another village near Cheam-ni, was burned and the fleeing fugitives shot at and bayoneted by the Japanese soldiers as they ran from their burning homes. Reports have been received of the burning of nine other villages and many Christian churches. The Rev. Stacy L. Roberts, an American missionary stationed at Pyeng Yang, reports that more than a hundred Koreans were shot or beaten to death in Tyung-Ju. Throughout the whole peninsula similar atrocities have been committed.

Little girls of only 10 years of age, women and school girls, have been shamefully treated and are subjected to physical punishment and torture for no other crime than shouting enthusiasm for their own country and crying out for independence. Small boys have been knocked down and cruelly beaten. Already it is said that over three hundred Korean children, under the age of 7 years, have been put to death. The case of a baby, one year old, being shot through the back, was witnessed by the Rev. Edward W. Twing of Boston, Massachusetts, who is Oriental Secretary of the International Reform Bureau. He also saw a crowd of about twenty Korean schoolgirls who were quietly walking along the road—not even shouting—suddenly pounced upon by a body of Japanese soldiers, who savagely beat them with their guns, knocked them down and then treated them shamefully.

Old men have been seized by Japanese soldiers and made sport of—being pounded, kicked and beaten until they could not walk. Men who were dying have been dispatched with a shot through the back. Others have been chased and cut down with sabers. Deputized firemen, with long iron hooks, have been seen chasing boys and girls, trying to catch them. One case of an old man who was killed with these hooks,

and his body thrust through and dragged off in triumph, comes in a report from an American missionary in Pyeng Yang. Americans have been arrested and thrown in jail. An American Presbyterian missionary, Rev. Eli Mowry of Mansfield, Ohio, has been sentenced to six months in prison for sheltering five Koreans for two days.

Christians—both men and women—have been taken to Japanese churches, stripped of their clothing and tied to crosses and beaten twenty-nine times upon their naked bodies, according to information in the hands of Dr. David Lee of San Francisco. Christian churches have been looted and Bibles destroyed. Little girls have been dragged from their homes by their hair and tied to telegraph poles by the same means and publicly flogged. Women have been violated and beaten with inhuman viciousness. It has been Belgium over again, save that difference in religion, as well as nationality, has been seized upon as an excuse for bestiality.

In the first three months over fifty thousand Koreans have been killed or wounded. The horror and brutality of some of the deeds committed are beyond belief. In the name of crushing the Independence Movement, the military authorities have transgressed the laws of all civilization and proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that Japanese Military Autocracy is no longer fit to be respected by any civilized people. That the Japanese people should allow such a stain upon their nation is incredible.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Before the outbreak of the Independence Movement in Korea, proper, the Korean students in Tokio, Japan, numbering about eight hundred, drew up a petition to present to the Japanese Emperor and Diet, as well as to the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers in Japan, asking for the freedom and independence of Korea. When they attempted to hand in the petition they came into conflict with the Japanese police and an open fight ensued. Over sixty students were arrested and some given prison terms.

In the United States demonstrations were held by the Koreans in New York, Chicago, Denver, Detroit, Honolulu, Akron, Ohio; Pueblo, Colorado; Yakima, Washington; Superior, Wyoming, and in San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton, Riverside and Los Angeles, California.

In Philadelphia—the Cradle of American Liberty—a congress of Koreans and sympathetic Americans convened. Just before it broke up, the delegates adjourned to the Declaration Room in Independence Hall. Here, after reading the Korean Proclamation of Independence, they approached the old, cracked Liberty Bell. Amid profound silence they placed their hands upon it, and, closing their eyes, prayed for the freedom of Korea and the success of the new movement. Those who saw them say it was the most impressive ceremony the City of Philadelphia has ever witnessed.

Meanwhile, other demonstrations were held in Mexico, Manila, Shanghai, Pekin, Siberia and Manchuria. In many of these places proclamations were issued, declaring the independence of Korea, and given into the hands of the foreign embassies. A National Council was called at Nikolskoe, on the Ussuri River in Siberia, and a provisional government established, with a temporary capitol in Manchuria.

A cabinet of eight members was formed and a committee consisting of eighteen members was put in charge of the

new government. The office of Provisional President was left vacant for the time being, the committee as a whole serving in the executive capacity. Dr. Syngman Rhee, a graduate of Harvard and PhD. of Princeton—receiving his degree while Woodrow Wilson was President of the college—was named Secretary of State. The portfolio of Secretary of War was given to General Lee Dong Whui, who immediately began the organization of an army. C. H. Ahn, prominent Christian educator and organizer of the Korean National Association in America, was appointed Secretary of the Interior; Yun Hyuh Jin as Secretary of the Treasury; Ham Nyung Wee as Secretary of Justice and Young Man Park, a graduate of the University of Nebraska, as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Three delegates were appointed to put the plea of the Korean people before the League of Nations. Two of them, Dr. Henry Chung and Dr. Syngman Rhee, were in the United States, having fled from Korea just before its annexation by the Japanese. They held old Korean passports, which the State Department at Washington could not recognize as valid without straining diplomatic relationship between the United States and Japan. Naturally the Japanese Government refused to issue new ones. Therefore, the third delegate, John Kiusic Kimm, was the only one to reach Paris. He presented the claims before the Peace Conference, where they are now under consideration.

Following the first demonstrations, the Japanese War Department dispatched two additional divisions of troops to Korea and began preparations for extended military and diplomatic maneuvers. In order to uphold her position at the Peace Conference, Japan issued a statement which "promised" complete reforms in the administration of Korea just as soon as the Independence Movement was crushed. She spoke of her "Monroe Doctrine in the Orient" and compared her administration of Korea to the American administration of the Philippines and Cuba. In reality, the cases are not similar. In the Philippines franchise is enjoyed, a

Philippine Senate and House of Representatives is elected by the people, with the right to overrule the Governor-General's veto. In Korea franchise is not enjoyed by the people. They have no legislative representation and the Governor-General is supreme, invested with the power of control over all Korea, commander of the army and navy and virtually a Czar in his own domains.

As the new republic took form charges were made that the Korean people were not sufficiently competent to govern themselves and that the Independence Movement was promulgated by the spread of Bolshevism from Russia. In reality, the new government is a very business-like proposition, modeled after the government of the United States as far as is possible, consistent with the education of the masses. In absolutely no respect does it aim at a redistribution of wealth, government ownership of industries, land nationalization, communism or other Utopian, anarchistic or Bolshevistic dreams.

The leaders are able, conservative college graduates, and realize the limits of their people. Their aim is to establish a sound republic with each citizen enjoying freedom of speech, religion and personal liberty, and to have their little nation no longer the pawn of Asia.

All they ask is to be free forever from the Prussian trickery, brutality and oppression of Japanese Imperalistic, Autocratic Militarism.

STATEMENTS AND PRESS REPORTS

FRAGMENTS SELECTED FROM NEWS ITEMS, PERSONAL LETTERS, ARTICLES AND PRESS REPORTS

JAPAN'S POLICY IN KOREA

"Since Japan has annexed Korea the spirit of her rule, at any rate since the death of Prince Ito, has not been one to develop and benefit the Korean people, but to make them a subject people and, so far as possible, to stamp out any Korean individuality. In the Philippine Islands, in Egypt, in India, in spite of complaints that are often made, natives still concede that they are given a large part in the government of the country. Not so in Korea. The Koreans are treated as an inferior race (by that people that is so insistent upon racial equality), are forbidden to teach their own language, are not allowed to go abroad for study, but can be trained only in Korea or in Japan. Now that the revolt of the oppressed people has come, it is known on unimpeachable testimony that the revolutionists, though offering no resistance, are treated with barbarity so severe and uncalled-for that it has brought forth the protests of foreign residents, English and American business men and officials, as well as missionaries."

JEREMIAH W. JENKS, PhD., LL. D.

(Research Professor of Government and Public Administration, New York University; Chairman, Alexander Hamilton Institute, and Director The Far Eastern Bureau.)

GERMAN MILITARY SYSTEM INTRODUCED

"Thirty missionaries gathered in Seoul, March 16, that I might hear the situation discust. They agreed in designating the Japanese military and police and gendarme system in the Korean peninsula the German machine! Foreigners—consuls, business men, missionaries—are unanimous in

their condemnation of the system which has ruled Korea since 1910. This system was learned from the Germans. While it may have been crushed in Belgium and Europe, it still exists in Korea and Asia.

"The tortures which the Koreans suffer at the hands of the police and gendarmes are identical with those employed in the famous conspiracy trials. I read affidavits, now on their way to the United States and British Governments, which made one's blood boil, so frightful were the means used in trying to extort confessions from prisoners. And many of these had no part in the demonstrations, but were simply onlookers.

"In Tokio, on March 21, by arrangement of Galen M. Fisher, National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. for Japan, I met a few Japanese and foreigners and discust the Korean situation. One of the Japanese (a member of the Parliament, who will be in America in May), told me that the more the world knows about Japanese misrule in Korea, the better it will be for Japan, for thus the sooner will the nation get rid of the militarism which now dominates the empire."

A. E. ARMSTRONG, of Toronto, Canada,
(Assistant Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of Canada.)

TO REDUCE KOREANS TO SERFDOM

"It was my opinion when I was in Korea and is my opinion still, that it is Japan's intention that all the Koreans shall be practically serfs, pursuing only the trades of farmers and artisans, leaving to the Japanese immigrants the administration of government, the mercantile and banking trades, and other more profitable callings. In other words, Korea is being exploited altogether, for the benefit of the Japanese, with little thought of any obligation to the natives.

"The attitude of the Japanese Government toward American missions, as shown by the unsuccessful attempt to dis-

credit them in the course of the conspiracy in 1912 and the limitations put upon the mission schools since, is caused by a desire to eliminate anything which may interfere with the complete Japanization of Korea and the confining of the natives to the status of contented farmers and artisans."

PROFESSOR T. A. CRANE
(Pittsburg University.)

STATEMENT OF THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY

Representative Konosuke Moriya, who was dispatched by the Constitutional or opposition party, to Korea to investigate the disturbances, has reported the insurrection to be due to the following causes:

Discriminatory treatment given to the Korean subjects, who are refused equal treatment with Japanese in matters relating to appointments in government offices and stipends allowed.

Complicated and impracticable administrative measures, particularly strict measures for the tax collection, which are against the old customs and manners of Korea.

Extreme oppression on public speeches. Koreans have no organs to give utterance to their complaints which do not reach the ears of the Governor-General.

Forcible adoption of the assimiliation system. It is a great error and failure of colonial policy to attempt to enforce upon the Koreans, with a 2,000-year history, the same spiritual and mental training as on the Japanese people.

Spread of the principle of the self-determination of nations, which he describes as the rising tide of the thoughts of the world's nations and which has deeply implanted itself in the minds of the Korean people.

(Associated Press Correspondence from Tokio, May 2nd, 1919.)

A SAMPLE OF JAPANESE PROPAGANDA

Despite all rumors to the contrary, there is no tendency in the Japanese official quarters to suggest that American missionaries have been instigating the uprisings in Korea. That a few of them have been subjected to search and arrest is, while unfortunate, not to be taken too seriously. It needs no effort of the imagination to assume that some malcontent Koreans, professing to be Christians, should seek to abuse the sanctum of their unsuspecting teachers for their misguided endeavors. **It is not to be imagined that clergymen who have lived long in Korea and who, with all just and right-thinking men, should know the conditions of the Koreans and recognize the good the Japanese regime is doing them, should ill-advisedly lend themselves to a fatal movement, which must end in failure and unnecessary bloodshed.**

Reports current in this country of alleged cruelties on the part of the Japanese authorities in dealing with the situation are utterly unfounded.

(Extract from a press statement printed in Washington, D. C., April 17, 1919, and marked "Exclusive Dispatch.")

AN ANSWER TO THE ABOVE, PRINTED TWO WEEKS EARLIER

"In a remarkable manner the Korean Independence Movement has manifested skill, courage and organization that has been a great surprise to many. It has shown, more than ever before, how unreasonable, without justice, cruel and brutal the military rule of Japan is in this land. I could hardly believe these things if I had not seen them with my own eyes.

"The police and soldiers have arrested old men and little children and cruelly beaten them. . . . These things have been witnessed, not by one or two, but by scores of missionaries and others in many parts of Korea during March. If the world could only know these things, they

would certainly heed this cry of distress from an oppressed people. But the Japanese are doing all they can to keep the world from knowing the truth. A report has just come that in one city, from which letters have been sent, they are making it very hard for the missionaries, even hinting at deportation, unless they stop telling the truth.

"The following are some of the things that I have actually seen with my own eyes:

"Small school boys knocked down and cruelly beaten by Japanese soldiers. This was not a question of arresting them, but savage, unjustifiable barbarism.

"Soldiers stop and deliberately fire into a crowd composed only of girls and women, who were simply shouting 'Mansai.'

"A small boy of 1 year shot through the back.

"An unresisting old man of 65 years pounded, kicked and beaten by several Japanese soldiers until he could not walk.

"A crowd of about twenty school girls, who were quietly walking along the public road, not even shouting, chased by soldiers, beaten with guns, knocked down and so shamefully treated that it made one's blood boil.

"Japanese firemen chasing boys and girls with long iron hooks, trying to catch them with them.

"A Korean in a hospital, paralyzed, with his head crushed in with one of these hooks.

"A man dying, shot through the back.

"One hundred men with torn and bloody clothes, tied together with ropes, taken to jail.

"An American missionary roughly arrested while standing in his own yard and looking on, but doing nothing else.

"Women knocked down with guns and kicked into the ditch.

"These and many other things I have seen with my own eyes; other foreigners have seen the same and worse. One can little imagine the reign of terror in all parts of this land. . . . And the punishments and tortures at the police sta-

tions and jails make a still more awful story. I have seen men who were beaten on wooden crosses by the Japanese."

EDWARD W. THWING, of Boston, Mass.
(Oriental Secretary of the International Reform Bureau.)

THE MASSACRE AT CHEAM-NI

Details of the massacre at Cheam-ni were obtained by the Associated Press correspondent who visited that place in company with Raymond S. Curtice, the American Vice-Consul at Seoul, and Mr. Underwood, an American missionary. Subsequently, the correspondent again visited the place with Mr. Royds, the British Consul, and several missionaries, including the Rev. Herron Smith, who is in charge of the work of the Methodist church in Korea. Describing his visit to Cheam-ni, the Seoul correspondent writes that when they asked residents of nearby villages why that hamlet had been burned, they were told that it was because there was a Christian church and many native Christians in the village.

"When we got to the place, which had been a village of about forty houses, we found only four or five standing, all the rest were smoking ruins," he continued. "We found a body, frightfully burned and twisted, lying in a compound, and another, either of a young man or woman, just outside the church compound. Several groups of people were huddled under little straw shelters on the hillside with a few of their pitiful belongings about them. They were mostly women, some old, others young mothers with babies, but all sunk in the dull apathy of abject misery and despair. Mr. Underwood, an American missionary, who talked to them in their own language, brought the story of what happened.

"The day before we arrived soldiers came to the village and ordered all the male Christians to gather at the church. When about thirty were in the church the soldiers opened fire on them with rifles and then entered the church and finished them off with swords and bayonets. After this they

set fire to the church and to houses which otherwise would not have been burned."

One Korean told the correspondent he was alive because he was not a Christian and was not in the church. Later when the correspondent made a second trip to Cheam-ni with Mr. Royds, the British Consul, and a party of seven, including several missionaries, he said: "We photographed freely without interference, but when we started to talk to the natives a policeman would saunter up and the Korean would 'freeze up.' They were in fear of what might happen later if they were seen talking to us."

The party, however, divided up and obtained many interviews concerning the story, as the correspondent learned it on his first visit. They were told that two of those killed in or near the church were women who went to that building to learn what was happening to their husbands.

(Associated Press Dispatch from Tokio May 1st, 1919.)

THE AFFAIR AT DUNGCHOO

Reports from Korea state that during a demonstration in Dungchoo on the 29th of March some persons were killed and over two hundred wounded. Forty persons were hooked and dragged by Japanese soldiers and firemen and half-buried, upright, in front of the railway station, and relatives who came to identify the killed and wounded were beaten so that nobody dared to fetch away the bodies.

A local doctor, named Shen, to whom the wounded went for treatment, was whipped and beaten with rifle butts and finally arrested. Osan Academy was destroyed and the church of Heaven Worshipers burned down by the Japanese.

(Reuter's Dispatch from Pekin, April 4th, 1919.)

A JAPANESE DIATRIBE AGAINST AMERICAN MISSIONARIES

"They (the American missionaries) are propagating Christianity in Korea, but pay no attention to the interests of

Japan, the sovereign of Korea. While engaged in Christian propaganda work, the American Missionaries run schools, and diffuse foreign political and social ideas among the half-civilized people. The principle of liberty is recklessly advocated among them, this having an evil influence upon their undeveloped minds, which are consequently tainted with excessively radical ideas.

"The American missionaries include in their number some some who have no sound judgment and discretion. Such people confuse the ideas of the Koreans, who are in a similar mental condition as those Japanese students who are now making an outcry for democracy, without understanding what this stands for. As a result, some Korean converts to Christianity are so senseless as to have recourse to radical action."

* * * * *

"In order to wreak their discontent and bitter feelings, these Koreans, under the mask of Christianity, I think, have created the present disturbances. It may safely be declared that missionaries are responsible for the fact that the advanced ideas of foreign countries have been diffused without modification among the Koreans, whose state of civilization is not yet very high, and for the fact that among those taking part in the disturbances were girl students."

(Quotation from Mr. Midoru Komatsu, late Director of Foreign Affairs in the Government-General of Korea, Published in The Japan Advertiser of March 9th, 1919.)

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

AND

PROCLAMATIONS

OF THE

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

FOR THE

NEW REPUBLIC OF KOREA

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

"We herewith proclaim the independence of Korea and the liberty of the Korean people. We tell it to the world in witness of the equality of all nations and we pass it on to our posterity as their inherent right.

"We make this proclamation, having back of us 5,000 years of history, and 20,000,000 of a united loyal people. We take this step to insure to our children for all time to come, personal liberty in accord with the awakening consciousness of this new era. This is the clear leading of God, the moving principle of the present age, the whole human race's just claim. It is something that cannot be stamped out, or stifled, or gagged, or suppressed by any means.

"Victims of an older age, when brute force and the spirit of plunder ruled, we have come after these long thousands of years to experience the agony of ten years of foreign oppression, with every loss to the right to live, every restriction of the freedom of thought, every damage done to the dignity of life, every opportunity lost for a share in the intelligent advance of the age in which we live.

"Assuredly, if the defects of the past are to be rectified, if the agony of the present is to be unloosed, if the future oppression is to be avoided, if thought is to be set free, if right of action is to be given a place, if we are to attain to any way of progress, if we are to deliver our children from the painful, shameful heritage, if we are to leave blessing and happiness intact for those who succeed us, the first of all necessary things is the clear-cut independence of our people. What cannot our twenty millions do, every man with sword in heart, in this day when human nature and conscience are making a stand for truth and right? What barrier can we not break, what purpose can we not accomplish?

"We have no desire to accuse Japan of breaking many solemn treaties since 1636, nor to single out specially the teachers in the schools or government officials who treat the

heritage of our ancestors as a colony of their own, and our people and their civilization as a nation of savages, finding delight only in beating us down and bringing us under their heel.

"We have no wish to find special fault with Japan's lack of fairness or her contempt of our civilization and the principles on which her state rests; we, who have greater cause to reprimand ourselves, need not spend precious time in finding fault with others; neither need we, who require so urgently to build for the future, spend useless hours over what is past and gone. Our urgent need today is the settling up of this house of ours and not a discussion of who has broken it down, or what has caused its ruin. Our work is to clear the future of defects in accord with the earnest dictates of conscience. Let us not be filled with bitterness or resentment over past agonies or past occasions for anger.

"Our part is to influence the Japanese Government, dominated as it is by the old idea of brute force which thinks to run counter to reason and universal law, so that it will change, act honestly and in accord with the principles of right and truth.

"The result of annexation, brought about without any conference with the Korean people, is that the Japanese, indifferent to us, use every kind of partiality for their own, and by a false set of figures show a profit and loss account between us two peoples most untrue, digging a trench of everlasting resentment deeper and deeper the farther they go.

"Ought not the way of enlightened courage to be to correct the evils of the past by ways that are sincere, and by true sympathy and friendly feeling make a new world in which the two peoples will be equally blessed?

"To bind by force twenty millions of resentful Koreans will mean not only loss of peace forever for this part of the Far East, but also will increase the every-growing suspicion of four hundred millions of Chinese—upon whom depends the danger or safety of the Far East—besides strengthening the hatred of Japan. From this all the rest of the East will

suffer. Today Korean independence will mean not only daily life and happiness for us, but also it would mean Japan's departure from an evil way and exaltation to the place of true protector of the East, so that China, too, even in her dreams, would put all fear of Japan aside. This thought comes from no minor resentment, but from a large hope for the future welfare and blessing of mankind.

"A new era wakes before our eyes, the old world of force is gone, and the new world of righteousness and truth is here. Out of the experience and travail of the old world arises this light on life's affairs. The insects stifled by the foe and snow of winter awake at this same time with the breezes of spring and the soft light of the sun upon them.

"It is the day of the restoration of all things on the full tide of which we set forth, without delay or fear. We desire a full measure of satisfaction in the way of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and an opportunity to develop what is in us for the glory of our people.

"We awake now from the old world with its darkened conditions in full determination and one heart and one mind, with right on our side, along with the forces of nature, to a new life. May all the ancestors to the thousands and ten thousand generations aid us from within and all the force of the world aid us from without, and let the day we take hold be the day of our attainment. In this hope we go forward.

THREE ITEMS OF AGREEMENT

"1. This work of ours is in behalf of truth, religion and life, undertaken at the request of our people, in order to make known their desire for liberty. Let no violence be done to anyone.

"2. Let those who follow us, every man, all the time, every hour, show forth with gladness this same mind.

"3. Let all things be done decently and in order, so that our behaviour to the very end may be honorable and upright."

The 4252nd Year of the Kingdom of Korea, 3d Month
Representatives of the People.

The signatures attached to the document are:

Son Byung Hi, Kil Sun Chu, Yi Pil Chu, Paik Long Sung, Kim Won Kyu, Kim Pyung Cho, Kim Chang Choon, Kwon Dong Chin, Kwon Byung Duk, Na Long Whan, Na In Hup, Yang Chun Paik, Yang Han Mook, Lew Yer Dai, Yi Kop Sung, Yi Mung Yong, Yi Seung Hoon, Yi Chong Hoon, Yi Chong Il, Lim Yei Whan, Pak Choon Seung, Pak Hi Do, Pak Tong Wan, Sin Hong Sik, Sin Suk Ku, Oh Sei Chang, Oh Wha Young, Chung Choon Su, Choi Sung Mo, Choi In, Han Yong Woon, Hong Byung Ki, Hong Ki Cho.

AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE NEW KOREAN REPUBLIC

(1) We believe in government which derives its just power from the governed. Therefore, the government must be conducted for the interest of the people it governs.

(2) We propose to have a government modeled after that of America, as far as possible, consistent with the education of the masses. For the next decade it may be necessary to have more centralized power in the government; but as education of the people improves, and as they have more experience in the art of self-governing, they will be allowed to participate more universally in the governmental affairs.

(3) However, we propose to give universal franchise to elect local and provincial legislators, and the provincial legislators elect the representatives to the National Legislature. The National Legislators will have co-ordinate power with the Executive branch of the Government, and they have sole power to make laws of the nation, and are solely responsible to the people whom they represent.

(4) The Executive branch consists of President, Vice-President and Cabinet Officers, who carry out all the laws made by the National Legislature. The President shall be elected by the members of the National Legislature; and the President has the power to appoint the Cabinet Ministers, Governors of Provinces and other such important executive officials of the Government, including envoys to foreign countries. He has the power to make treaties with foreign powers, subject to the approval of the upper house of the National Legislature. The President and his Cabinet are responsible to the National Legislature.

(5) We believe in freedom of religion. Any religion or doctrine shall be freely taught and preached within the country, provided such teaching does not conflict with the laws or the interest of the nation.

(6) We believe in free commerce with all nations of the world, affording the citizens and subjects of all treaty powers

equal opportunity and protection for promoting commerce and industry between them and the Korean people.

(7) We believe in education of the people, which is more important than any other governmental activity.

(8) We believe in modern sanitary improvements under scientific supervision, as the health of the people is one of the primary considerations of those who govern.

(9) We believe in free speech and free press. In fact, we are in thorough accord with the principle of democracy, equal opportunity, sound economic policies, free intercourse with the nations of the world, making conditions of life of the entire people most favorable for unlimited development.

(10) We believe in liberty of action in all matters, provided such actions or utterances do not interfere with the rights of other people or conflict with the laws and interests of the nation.

Let us all pledge our solemn word to carry out these cardinal points to the best of our ability, as long as there is life remaining within us.

PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION

By the will of God, the people of Korea, both within and without the country, have united in a peaceful declaration of their independence, and for over one month have carried on their demonstrations in over 300 districts, and because of their faith in the movement they have by their representatives chosen a Provisional Government to carry on to completion this independence and so to preserve blessings for our children and grandchildren.

The Provisional Government, in its Council of State, has decided on a Provisional Constitution, which it now proclaims.

1. The Korean Republic shall follow republican principles.

2. All powers of State shall rest with the Provisional Council of State of the Provisional Government.

3. There shall be no class distinction among the citizens of the Korean Republic, but men and women, noble and common, rich and poor, shall have equality.

4. The citizens of the Korean Republic shall have religious liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of writing and publication, the right to hold public meetings and form social organizations and the full right to choose their dwellings or change their abode.

5. The citizens of the Korean Republic shall have the right to vote for all public officials or to be elected to public office.

6. Citizens will be subject to compulsory education and military service and payment of taxes.

7. Since by the will of God the Korean Republic has arisen in the world and has come forward as a tribute to the world peace and civilization, for this reason we wish to become a member of the League of Nations.

8. The Korean Republic will extend benevolent treatment to the former Imperial Family.

9. The death penalty, corporal punishment and public prostitution will be abolished.

10. Within one year of the recovery of our land the National Congress will be convened.

Signed by:

The Provisional Secretary of State,
And the Ministers of Foreign Affairs,
Home Affairs,
Justice.
Finance,
War,
Communications.

In the 1st Year of the Korean Republic, 4th Month.

The following are six principles of government:

1. We proclaim the equality of the people and the State.

2. The lives and property of foreigners shall be respected.

3. All political offenders shall be specially pardoned.

4. We will observe all treaties that shall be made with foreign powers.

5. We swear to stand by the independence of Korea.

6. Those who disregard the orders of the Provisional Government will be regarded as enemies of the State.

OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION

Korea proclaims to the nations of the world that the people of this land, with a history of 4,000 years, have now, in this age of world progress, asserted the independence and liberty of their nation.

Although the Japanese troops have overrun our country, as the Germans did Belgium, yet we will not recognize their control, and as a people, in this manner, we repudiate their government and send out these notifications.

We, the liberty-loving people of Korea, having declared our independence and having chosen our representatives for a Provisional Government, through them make this announcement.

We extend our most cordial sentiments to the friendly nations that have already had treaty relations with our land and also to the new states which have been recently formed upon principles of humanity and justice.

Provisional Government for the
New Korean Republic.

A SAMPLE OF THE METHODS OF JAPANESE MILITARY AUTOCRACY IN DEALING WITH LOYAL KOREANS.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

THE CLAIM OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE AND NATION

FOR LIBERATION FROM JAPAN AND FOR THE RECONSTITUTION OF KOREA AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE TO BE EFFECTED BY AND THROUGH THE PEACE CONFERENCE DECLARING AS NULL AND VOID OR OTHERWISE ABROGATING THE TREATY CONCLUDED AT SEOUL ON AUGUST 22, 1910, WHEREBY JAPAN PURPORTED TO ANNEX THE EMPIRE OF KOREA

Petition

PARIS: APRIL, 1919.

KOREAN DELEGATION

TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN SESSION AT PARIS:

THE PETITION of the KOREAN PEOPLE AND NATION for liberation from Japan and for the reconstitution of Korea as an independent state

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH:

The Korean People have been a nation for more than 4,200 years, with a settled life and culture and with their country forming one of the historic states of Asia. During most of these *Forty-two Centuries,* Korea enjoyed national independence.

Korean Independence Recognized.

2.—The continued existence of Korea as a separate and sovereign state was recognized by Japan, the United States, Great Britain and other foreign Powers in their respective treaties of peace and commerce concluded with the Korean Government.

In the Treaty with the United States, signed at Seoul on May 22, 1882, it was expressly agreed that "if other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings."

In the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed on April 17, 1895, Japan insisted on China's definite recognition of the "full

and complete independence and autonomy of Korea." And in the first Anglo-Japanese agreement of alliance, concluded on January 30, 1902, Japan and Great Britain affirmed and substantially guaranteed the independence of Korea. Lastly, in the Treaty of Defensive and Offensive Alliance made between the Japanese Government and the Korean Government in 1904, Japan specifically guaranteed the independence and integrity of Korea.

Korean Independence as an International Doctrine.

3.—These treaties not only affirmed and confirmed the separate existence of Korea as a sovereign state, but they established, it is submitted, Korean independence on the basis of an international authority and sanction which no single Power could violate without subjecting its action to eventual revision by other Powers.

Japan's Violation of Korean Independence.

4.—Such a violation of Korean independence was committed by Japan when the Japanese Government—by acts of fraud and force—compelled the conclusion of the Treaty of August 22, 1910, whereby the then Emperor of Korea purported to cede "completely and permanently to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea," with her then population of more than *Fifteen Million Koreans.*

The Korean Protest.

5.—*Against this extinction of Korean sovereignty and the incorporation of their country as a province of Japan, the Korean people and nation have strenuously protested and do still protest.*

6.—This protest is renewed and is strengthened daily, owing to the methods applied by Japan in the administration of Korea. In ruthlessness and efficiency these methods

exceed those practised by Prussia in her eastern provinces, in Schleswig-Holstein, in Alsace-Lorraine*.

Not only in name but in reality, Japan is determined to turn Korea into a Japanese province. And she is trying to do this by a pitiless attempt tc extirpate the great roots of patriotism—love of the soil, language of the people and the history of the nation—and also to "control" the two means which might render futile this organized attempt to destroy Korean patriotism, i. e., education and wealth.

Japanese "Control" of Korean Education and Wealth.

7.—Any and every department of modern education calculated, if pursued beyond a certain point, to encourage what Count Terauchi—the Japanese proconsul who "annexed" Korea—calls "dangerous thoughts" is either forbidden or taught in an emasculated sense in the schools of Korea under Government control. *And the Korean student is absolutely prohibited from going to Europe or the United States to seek a modern education, even at his or her expense.*

8.—*Nearly every wealthy Korean is obliged to have a Japanese overseer at his house, controlling his properties and*

*"A rigid spy system is inaugurated (in Korea). Everyone must be registered and is given a number, which is known to the police. Every time he leaves his village or town he must register at the police station and state fully the business he intends to transact and his destination. The policeman phones to this place and if his actions are in any way at variance with his report he is liable to arrest and mistreatment. A strict classification is kept on the basis of a man's education, influence, position, etc. As soon as a man begins to show ability or qualities of leadership he is put in class 'a', detectives are set on his trail, and from thencefortb he becomes a marked man, hounded wherever he goes. Even children are watched or bribed for information. If a man escapes the country his number is traced, his family or relatives arrested and perchance tortured until they reveal his whereabouts. A man is likely to disappear any day and perhaps not be heard of again. It is a very efficient Prussianism which thus aims to crush the spirit of a people.

"This policy is carried out in the educational system by forbidding the teaching of Korean history or geography . . . by excluding all European history or literature, . . . by forbidding any Korean student to go abroad for an education; in fact, by forbidding them to leave the country; . . . by forbidding them to entertain or express Korean ideas or aspirations. One student was put in jail for three months and fined three hundred dollars because he was caught singing the Korean national anthem."—From a paper recently published in the United States by J. E. Moore, an American born in Korea.

finances. And Koreans with deposits in the banks—which are all Japanese institutions—cannot withdraw large amounts at one time without disclosing to the banks the purpose or purposes for which the money is to be used.

Japan and Christianity.

9.—Every effort is made by the Japanese authorities—particularly through their police agents—to discourage and obstruct Christian missionary work in Korea which is envisaged as opposed to vital Japanese interests in the peninsula.

Is not the gravest indictment of Japan's work in Korea to be read in the fact that Christianity is seriously regarded as a force hostile to the success of the Japanese system of government in the country?

Korea for the Japanese.

10.—The Japanese authorities claim that "reforms" have been introduced into Korea. But it is well to remember that most of these reforms, valuable as they are, may be found in a well-regulated penal colony ("The Korean Conspiracy Case," New York), and all of them have been effected or introduced at the expense of the Korean taxpayer *in the interest and for the benefit of the Japanese settler* for whom the Japanese authorties are bent on making Korea an attractive field of colonization.

11.—*The Japanese rules and administers Korea in the spirit and by the methods of a Master-Nation or, more accurately, a Profiteer-Nation.*

Except in the sense that cattle or slaves must be taken care of if they are to be of any value to their owners, the welfare of the Korean people is not an aim of government with Japan.

Japan Against the World.

12.—In addition to these reasons connected directly with the fate of the Korean people, the vital interests of the world—especially the Asiatic interests of France and the

Asiatic and Pacific interests of Great Britain and the United States—demand the dis-annexation of Korea and the liberation of her people from Japan.

13.—In trade and commerce, Japan is gradually eliminating the Western trader and merchant in Korea and transferring to the exclusive hands of her own people tradal interests which have had their origin in the series of treaties of peace and commerce concluded between Korea and the foreign powers.

In this elimination of Western competition, Japan continues true to that instinct for exclusion which, in the past, found expression in her rigidly guarded isolation and which, today, expresses itself in the menacing attempt to *Exclude Western Influence in Far Asia* through the application of a debased Monroe Doctrine for the Far East.

Japan's Continental Policy.

14.—It is, however, in the far-reaching political aims of Japan—realizable eventually through her continued annexation of Korea—that France, as well as Great Britain and America, must be vitally interested.

The danger to the non-Japanese world, including especially the three Latin and Anglo-Saxon powers, lies in Japan's unfettered prosecution of her *Continental Policy.*

This policy aims, first, at the seizure of the hegemony of Asia through the *domination and control of the man-power and natural resources of China*—possible by the Japanese possession of the continental *point d'appui* of Korea—and, next, at the *mastery of the Pacific as the sole means of securing unrestricted entrance for the Japanese immigrant into Australasia and the United States.*

The Policy in Operation.

15.—Japan's Continental Policy has already found expression—

(*a*) In two successful wars which have made her the greatest military power in Asia in much the same way that Prus-

sia's two wars made her the greatest military power in Europe;

(*b*) In the annexation of Korea;

(*c*) In the gradual substitution of Japanese for Chinese authority in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia;

(*d*) In the attempt now being made to secure from the Peace Conference the succession of Japan to German holdings and privileges in the Chinese province of Shantung, including Kiaochow;

(*e*) In the growing subjection of China, with her incalculable man-power and resources, to Japanese domination by and through the same set of methods which made the annexation of Korea a "political necessity"; and

(*f*) In the Japanese possession of the "South Sea Islands north of the Equator," which *bring Japan nearly two thousand miles closer to Australia* and gives the Japanese Navy a base which dominates, practically, the entire land-areas of the Pacific.

The Korean Revolution.

16.—The protest and opposition of the Korean people to Japanese annexation of their country and to the process of political extermination applied to them by the Mikado's agents has now expressed itself in the Korean Revolution.

On the 1st of March, at 1 p. m., the *Korean People and Nation declared their independence.* This act of independence was formally done by the *National Independence Union,* composed of three million Koreans representing and expressing the desire and will of 18,700,000 Koreans in Korea proper, in China, Siberia, in Hawaii and in the United States.

The declaration states: "It is our solemn duty to secure the right of free and perpetual development of our own national character, adapting ourselves to the principles of the reconstruction of the world—to secure our independence, to wipe out injuries, get rid of our present sufferings, and leave our children eternal freedom instead of a bitter and shameful inheritance."

Progress of the Revolution.

17.—The Korean Delegation—appointed by the New Korean Young Men's Society to which are affiliated the Korean National Independence Union and other bodies organized in the cause of Korean independence—is in receipt of several cable dispatches reporting the progress of the revolution and the national movement for independence.

A dispatch from the Korean National Independence Union received in Paris, via Shanghai, on April 7th, *instant,* reads in part as follows: "On March 26 we held grand demonstrations at Seoul. Our national flags were flown on the city hills. The Japanese arrested two hundred of those who participated in the demonstrations. There were casualties on both sides. Samnam (i. e. all provinces south of Seoul) are uprising every day. Korean demonstrations are taking place in Eastern Siberia and Manchuria."

The Korean Republic.

18.—The same dispatch reports the organization of a Provisional Government of Korea, consisting of a President, Vice-President, Secretary of State, Minister for Home Affairs, Minister of Finance, Minister of Justice and Minister of War.

Among those included in the Provisional Government are Prince Pak Yung-hio and Messrs. Rhee Syngman, Ahn Chang Ho and Li Tong Whi. Prince Pak Yung-hio is one of the five great leaders who inaugurated what is known in Korean history as the movement of the Progressive Party in 1884. He was the chief figure among the Progressives who, in 1894, compelled the introduction of modern reforms into Korea. He was at one time Minister for Home Affairs before the annexation. Rhee Syngman is an M.A. of Harvard, U. S. A., and Ph. D. of Princeton, U. S. A. Since 1894 he has been one of the leaders of the old Korean Independence Club. As a political worker he has suffered imprisonment and he has also been tortured. Ahn Chang Ho

is the founder of the Sin Min Hueh or People's Society and, since 1905, has been a leader of young Korean nationalists. He is the President of the Korean National Association. Li Tong Whi is a former major in the old Korean Army and a recognized leader of Korean nationalists in Siberia and Manchuria. He has been imprisoned and tortured by the Japanese authorities.

Japanese Repression.

19.—Another dispatch received by the Korean delegation on April 10th inst., states that "from the 1st of March up to date, active demonstrations of the Independence movement have been very well conducted all over Korea. Representatives prefer passive revolution, including lecturing and distribution of manifestoes. Girls more active. Strikes have occurred in enemy (Japanese) factories, stores, etc. Our churches, schools and stores closed everywhere. Thirty-two thousand men and women are in prison. About 100,000 have been injured, including old people, girls and children. Interior traffic communications severed. *Terrible outrages committed by enemy (Japanese).* Missionaries are sending truth to world."

In a further dispatch which reached the Korean delegation on April 11th inst., Japanese atrocities are reported: "Japan has begun massacring in Korea. On March 28 over 1,000 unarmed people were killed during a three-hour demonstration held in Seoul. The shooting, beating and hooking (?bayoneting) of people are in merciless progress throughout Korea. Churches, schools and homes of leaders have been destroyed. Women are being stripped naked and beaten before crowds, especially female members of leaders' families. The imprisoned are being tortured. Doctors are forbidden to attend to the wounded. We ask urgently aid from Foreign Red Cross. We have decided to fight for freedom until last Korean falls. We solicit help in the name of God."

Of the many news dispatches on the subject appearing in

the American and the European press, it must suffice here to quote the latest from the Tokio correspondent of the London "Times." It appeared in the issue of the London paper on April 17th inst., under the caption "Korea's Rights": "While it is recognized that there can be only one outcome of the disturbances in Korea, the Government's decision to reinforce the military establishment in the peninsula evokes universal press comment, the feature of which is the recognition that it will be inevitable, when opportunity occurs, to replace the Military Governor by a Civilian Governor. The 'Nichi-Nichi' attributes the disturbances chiefly to a mistaken conception of the principle of self-determination, also to the inimical influence of missionaries. The 'Jiji' says it is evident that many reforms are necessary in Korea. Another journal dwells on the fact that the Koreans are not an inferior people. * * *"

Abrogation of the Treaty of Annexation.

20.—The Korean people submit that the *Treaty of Annexation* of August 22, 1910, should be declared *Null and Void* or otherwise abrogated by the Peace Conference for the reasons set forth in this petition and further elaborated in the memorandum hereto attached and more especially for the reasons following:

I.—The said Treaty of annexation was conluded in circumstances of *Fraud and Force* which vitiated its validity as a legal and international document, even assuming that the then Emperor of Korea had the right to hand over to "His Majesty the Emperor of Japan" *Fifteen Million Koreans* and a country that had existed as a separate and sovereign state for more than 4,200 years.

II.—The Korean people and nation have consistently denied the right of the then "puppet" Emperor of Korea to deal with them in terms of the said Treaty of Annexation. Being men and not cattle, they hold that their consent is and has been an essential condition to the validity of the said treaty. This consent has never been given.

III.—That said Treaty of Annexation was and is a direct violation by Japan of the International guarantees entered into by the Japanese Government with Korea and other Powers regarding Korean independence and integrity*.

IV.—In the several Treaties concluded between Korea and Japan and other Powers, and by Japan with China, with Russia and with Great Britain, regarding Korea, the existence of the latter as a separate and sovereign state is—as to all these treaties—explicitly recognized and its political independence and territorial integrity is—as to some of them—also explicitly guaranteed in terms establishing the same on the basis of a public law of nations which no single Power—especially Japan—could violate without subjecting its action to eventual revision by the Powers assembled in an international congress like the present Peace Conference.

V.—The Peace Conference meets in order to secure a settlement of the affairs of the member-nations according to the principles expressed in President Wilson's *Fourteen Points.* The principles underlying this statement of views is defined by the President in his message to Congress on January 8, 1918, as *"the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak."*

As one of the allied and associated states in the war, Japan has expressly accepted the Fourteen Points with their underlying principle of justice. Inasmuch as this principle of justice is clearly violated by the Mikado's continued exercise of "all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea" without the consent and against the wishes of the Korean People and Nation, it becomes the right and the duty of the

*The Japan-Korean treaty of February 26 or 27, 1876, states in the first article "Chosen being an independent state enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan."

In the Japan-Russian protocol of April 25, 1898, it is stipulated in article I that the "Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia definitively recognize the sovereignty and entire independence of Korea, and mutually engage to refrain from all direct interference in the internal affairs of that country."

The Japan-Korean protocol of February 23, 1904, provides (art. 3) that the "Imperial Government of Japan definitively guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire."

Peace Conference to declare the nullification or otherwise decree the abrogation of the aforesaid Treaty of Annexation.

VI.—In virtue of rights founded in International Law and of the *New Justice* which is to redress the wrongs of nations, the Korean People have a just claim for the *Reconstruction of Korea as an Independent State* unless, indeed, they are to be excluded from the scope of the principles which have already found expression in the reconstitution of Poland after almost one and a half centuries of partitions and annexations and in the dis-annexation of Alsace-Lorraine after nearly half a century of Prussian rule.

It is less than ten years since Japan effected the annexation of Korea. And the fact that the outbreak of the war did not find Japan an ally of the Central Powers—a political combination that had always been envisaged by the German-trained advisers of the Mikado—is no reason why the Korean People should be suffered by the Peace Conference to continue to live under a system of military government which is a denial of every principle for which men have lately died on the soil of France.

This petition is presented in the name and on behalf of the *Provisional Republican Government of Korea* and of the *eighteen million seven hundred thousand Koreans* living in Korea proper, in China, Siberia, Hawaii, the United States and elsewhere as well as of the *five thousand and more Koreans* who fought for the Allied cause on the Eastern Front before the treaty of Brest-Litovsk—in the aggregate forming and constituting the *Korean People and Nation*—by the undersigned John Kiusic Soho Kimm, the duly accredited member of the Korean Delegation appointed by the New Korean Young Men's Society, etc., etc.

J. KIUSIC S. KIMM,

Delegate of New Korean Young Men's Society,
Delegate of the Korean National Association,
Delegate of the Provisional Government of the Korean Republic, Etc., Etc., Etc.

KOREAN DELEGATION

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

THE CLAIM OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE AND NATION

FOR LIBERATION FROM JAPAN AND FOR THE RECONSTITUTION OF KOREA AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE

Memorandum

PARIS: APRIL, 1919.

THE CLAIM OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE AND NATION FOR LIBERATION FROM JAPAN AND FOR THE RECONSTITUTION OF KOREA AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE

I.

The Claim of Korea.

The Korean People and Nation hereby petition the *Peace Conference* to declare as *null and void* the Treaty of August 22, 1910 (a), whereby *one Korean*—the then Emperor of Korea—purported, under Japanese coercion, to cede "completely and permanently to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea" with her then population of *over Fifteen Million Koreans.*

It is submitted that the present claim deals with a matter in respect of which the Peace Conference has the right and authority to take action.

The Conference meets in order to secure a settlement of the affairs of the member-nations in terms of the principles set forth in President Wilson's *Fourteen Points.* The "evident principle" running through the "whole program" is defined by the President in his message to Congress on January 8, 1918, as "the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak."

As one of the Allied and Associated States, Japan has expressly accepted the Fourteen Points, with their underlying principle of justice, as the "foundation" of the "structure of international justice" to be established by the Peace Conference.

Inasmuch as this principle of justice is obviously violated by the Mikado's continued exercise of "all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea" without the consent and

(a) See Appendix No. 1.

against the wishes of the Korean People and Nation, it is at once the right and the duty of the Peace Conference to declare the nullification of the aforesaid Treaty of August 22, 1910.

II.

4,200 Years of National Life.

The Korean people were a nation, with a language and a culture of their own, before Japan ceased to be a land of warring tribes and unlettered people. Indeed, it is as much to Korea as to China—the other historic state now under deadly assault by Japan—that the Japanese owe not a little of their cultural development and the thoughts and ideals which have nourished their mind and enabled them to capture greatness.

The nationhood of the Korean People had lasted for more than 4,200 years when Japan consummated her work in Korea by the Treaty of August 22, 1910. And save for an intervening period when their liberties were assailed the Koreans lived through these forty-two centuries as an independent nation, their country forming one of the separate states of Asia.

III.

The Independence of Korea.

The continued existence of Korea as a separate and sovereign state was affirmed and recognized by Japan in the Treaty of Peace and Amity concluded between the Korean Government and the Japanese Government at Seoul on February 27, 1876.

The independence of Korea as the "Kingdom of Chosen" was recognized by the United States of America in the Treaty of "Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation" concluded with the Korean Government on May 22, 1882, which contained the important clause that "if other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government the other

will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings."

Korean sovereignty was also recognized and admitted by Great Britain and other Powers in their respective Treaties of peace and commerce concluded with the Korean Government.

In the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed on April 17, 1895, Japan compelled China definitely to recognize the "full and complete independence and autonomy of Korea."

The independence of Korea was also affirmed and substantially guaranteed by Japan and Great Britain in the first Anglo-Japanese agreement of alliance concluded on January 30, 1902.

And, lastly, in a Treaty of Defensive and Offensive Alliance concluded between the Japanese Government and the Korean Government in 1904, Japan guaranteed the independence of Korea and the latter guaranteed material aid to Japan in the later prosecution of the war against Russia.

IV.

"Transactions in Freedom."

It was to protect and maintain the independence and territorial integrity of Korea that Japan professed to have fought her first continental wars against China in 1894-5.

And a similar purpose was alleged when Japan challenged and defeated the Tsardom in 1904-5.

That Japan emerged out of these two wars with an international prestige which no mere military victories could have won her is mainly to be assigned to the knightly gesture expressed in what seemed in the eyes of men as high transactions in freedom.

V.

Prussia and Japan.

The falseness of it all is now plain. And what must be termed the bad faith and duplicity of Japan cannot fail to

arrest the attention of a world already outraged by the unmoral acts of a race whose home is the "spiritual home" of the leaders of Japan.

Like Prussia in her two wars against Austria and against France, Japan "prepared" for her two wars against China and against Russia; and as Prussia became the leading military Power in Europe, so Japan has become the leading military Power in Asia as a result of her "defensive" wars against the two countries that stood in the path of her continental ambitions. And in quite a true sense, it may be said that Prussia and Japan are the two modern Powers which have profited greatly from the business of war.

If there be any difference between these two predatory Powers, the same lies in the deeper immorality of Japan. Prussia conceived, prepared and won her two wars in order to forge an Imperial Germany as an instrument of European hegemony. She did not load her crime with the death of a nation whose independence and integrity had been guaranteed by her in solemn treaties. Nor did she vulgarize her great sin by meanly lying to the world and representing her policy of plunder and aggrandizement in the sense of knightly action undertaken for the protection of an endangered people.

All this and more Japan has done.

VI.

The Protectorate of Korea.

Within a few months of the last of the Treaties in which Japan guaranteed the perpetual independence and integrity of Korea, the Treaty of Portsmouth was concluded in which Japan compelled Russia to acknowledge that "Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military and economical interests" and to "engage neither to obstruct nor interfere with the measures of guidance, protection and control which the Imperial Government of Japan may find it necessary to take in Korea."

Three weeks later—i. e., on September 27, 1905—the second Treaty of Alliance between Japan and Great Britain was published. The independence of Korea, which was expressly recognized in the first Anglo-Japanese agreement, was significantly omitted in this renewal of the alliance.

This sinister omission was quickly followed, twenty days later, by the conclusion of the Treaty subjecting Korea to the protectorate of Japan. It is safe to say that this transaction is without parallel in civilized history. An account of the crime can be read in the pages of McKenzie's "Tragedy of Korea" and in the "Passing of Korea," by Homer B. Hulbert.

The Treaty of Portsmouth was hardly signed when the Marquis Ito arrived at Seoul and instantly set about to impose on Korea "measures of guidance, protection and control." The story reads like some devilish episode in the days when Europe lay in darkness.

Ito—"the Bismarck of Japan"—packed the streets of Seoul with Japanese soldiers, surrounded the Palace with a cordon of troops and forced the distraught Emperor and his Ministers, literally at the point of the bayonet, to sign the infamous Treaty of Seoul. But despite all this coercion, the Treaty was signed by neither the Emperor's Prime Minister nor his Minister for Foreign Affairs. And the Treaty was vitiated by the non-affixion of the great seal of the State Council and of that of the Foreign Office. Even under force, the great seal was not produced; and like a gesture of despair, the seal of the Foreign Office was flung into a lotus pond just as the Ministers were being driven into the Council Chamber by armed Japanese.

The history of Korea during the five years of the Protectorate is a record of deeds of fraud and terrorism possible only in the case of a Power like Japan whose soul is mediaeval but whose methods are Prussian in their ruthlessness and efficiency. It is the record of a scientific barbarism applied to the work of stabbing a nation to death.

VII.

The Annexation of Korea.

And death soon came to Korea. In the words of a French writer "le Japon couronnait son œuvre en Corée" in the Treaty done at Seoul on August 22, 1910, which purported to hand over to "His Majesty the Emperor of Japan" an ancient Kingdom with its population of over fifteen million, as if cattle—not men—were under traffic.

Against this extinction of Korean sovereignty and the incorporation of their country as a province of Japan, the Korean People and Nation have strenuously protested and do still protest.

VIII.

Japanization and Prussianization.

This protest is founded not only on the forcible destruction of Korean liberties but on the fiercer application, by Japan in Korea, of the principles and methods practiced by the Tsardom in Finland and in Russian Poland and by the German teachers of Japan in the Eastern Provinces, in Schleswig-Holstein and in Alsace-Lorraine as well as by the unspeakable Turk in Armenia.

The political cruelties involved in the Prussianization of the Poles in the Eastern Provinces, of the Danes in Schleswig and of the French in Alsace-Lorraine are surpassed by the political enormities accompanying the Japanization of Korea.

Although fundamental human instincts and the barrier of geography oppose her work in Korea, Japan is determined to make the country, not only in name but in reality, a Japanese province. She is trying to do this by a pitiless attempt to extirpate the great roots of patriotism; love of the soil, language of the people and the history of the country. And she is also "controlling" the two means which might render futile this organized attempt to extinguish the light of patriotism in Korea—education and wealth.

IX.

Expropriation of Korean Landowners.

Korean ownership of land binds Korean hearts to the ancient soil of Korea and is therefore a vigorous "root" of Korean patriotism. This ownership of land by the Korean farmer and peasant prevents also the success of Japanese colonization in Korea, the best arable lands of the country being naturally in the hands of the Korean agriculturists. For this double reason, the expropriation of the Korean landowner is a cardinal aim of Japanese policy in Korea.

Accordingly, a company has been organized by direction of the Japanese Government and is supported by an annual subsidy of $250,000 from the Imperial Treasury. According to an article in the "New York Times" of January 26, 1919, the purpose of the company "is to colonize Korea with Japanese who are unable to make a living in Japan proper. A Japanese emigrant receives free transportation to Korea and is provided with a home and a piece of land, together with implements and provisions . . . the colonization company sought to buy the lands of the Korean farmers. There are eighty thousand square miles of land in Korea, supporting a population of fifteen millions, mostly agriculturists, and these natives declined to part with their heritage."

"Here was where the aid of the Japanese Government," the article continues, "was besought and secured, and the manner in which the solution of the problem was obtained was peculiarly Oriental in its subtlety. In Korea all the financial machinery centers in the Bank of Chosen, controlled by the Government and located at Seoul, the capital. Through its branches the powerful financial institution, corresponding to the Bank of England or the Treasury of the United States or the Bank of France, perhaps, called in all the specie in the country, thus making, as far as a circulating medium was concerned, the land practically valueless. In order to pay taxes and to obtain necessaries of life the Korean must

have cash, and in order to get it he must sell his land. Land values fell rapidly, and in some instances land was purchased by the agents of the Bank of Chosen for one-fifth of its former valuation."

"More than one-fifth of the richest lands in Korea," the article adds, "are in the hands of the Japanese immigrants who have been sent over through the operation of this scheme."

X.

Banning the Korean Language and History.

A systematic attempt is being made to replace the Korean by the Japanese language. In the schools Korean children are compelled to salute and greet their own Korean teachers in the Japanese language; and in the law courts, the judges are Japanese and the entire proceedings are conducted in the Japanese language with the result that the Korean litigant generally fails to understand what transpires, the official interpretation of the trial being always imperfect.

The teaching of Korean history is prohibited. And imprisonment, torture, banishment or worse might be the penalty if some Korean should be tempted to recite to children of the soil a traditional story or song or some folklore telling how men fought and died for Korea in other days.

XI.

"Controlling" Korean Education.

It is Japan's "control" of the education of the Korean people which strikingly reveals the "egoism" of her policy in the Peninsula.

Korea has been known as a land of scholars. And just as some countries may be said, broadly, to specialize in some particular sphere of learning and culture, so Korea in the past "specialized" in scholarship. The Italian, for instance, loves not song and music more than doth the cultured

Korean love the things of the scholar. He is an artist in scholarship.

But to be a scholar, one must be educated. An educated Korean, however, is a unit of protest and resistance against Japanese tyranny in Korea, since education—particularly modern education—breeds thoughts and ideals that deny the right of one nation holding another nation in political serfage.

Therefore, not only is the teaching of Korean history prohibited in Korean schools, but any and every department of Western learning calculated, if pursued beyond a certain point, to encourage what Count Terauchi—the Japanese proconsul who "annexed" Korea—calls "dangerous thoughts," is either forbidden or taught in an emasculated sense.

This policy of a "limited education" explains why the Korean student is denied free access to the road to higher learning in arts, sciences, laws, politics, economics and industries and is also absolutely prohibited from going to Europe or the United States to seek a Western or modern education, even at his or her own expense.

This same policy also explains the forcible suppression of 360 Christian schools and hundreds of other private institutions in Korea. It further explains the following statistics published in the report of the Government-General in Korea for the year ending 1917.

For a population of 16,648,129 Koreans, the Japanese authorities established schools at which only 86,410 Korean pupils were being taught as follows:

441	Common or Primary Schools.....	81,845 pupils
7	Higher Common Schools	1,791 "
74	Elementary Schools of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry	2,029 "
1	Law School	138 "
1	Medical School	253 "
1	Industrial School	282 "
1	School of Agriculture and Forestry	72 "

totaling 526 schools of all grades, attended by 86,410 pupils.

Whereas for a Japanese immigrant population of 320,938, the authorities established 367 special Japanese schools of all grades, which were attended by 42,467 Japanese pupils as follows:

342	Primary Schools	37,911 pupils
3	Middle Schools	1,478 "
10	Girls' High Schools (public).....	1,648 "
7	Commercial Colleges	899 "
1	Colonial School of the Oriental Development Company	18 "
4	Private Schools, Commercial and Technical	513 "

The foregoing facts justify the following statement of Japan's educational policy in Korea, which has appeared in the American press and stands uncontradicted: "Under Japanese rule all national aspirations [in Korea] are opposed and measures are taken to prevent the development of patriotism. This is done systematically, in many different ways. One of the greatest and most effective agencies used by Japan to this end is the stifling of higher education and the limitations placed upon the schools. Korean history cannot be taught and *after the student has advanced a little way he must stop school altogether . . .*"

XII.

"Controlling" Korean Wealth.

Nearly every wealthy Korean is obliged to have a Japanese overseer at his house, controlling his properties and finances.

Koreans with deposits in the banks—which are all Japanese institutions—cannot withdraw large amounts at one time without disclosing to the banks the purpose or purposes for which the money is to be used.

XIII.

The Korean Kitchen Knife.

Koreans are generally prohibited the use of firearms or having the same in any shape or form in their possession.

And it is not a little interesting to note that an American investigator, in the course of his inquiries into the state of Korea under the Japanese, found that no family in some places was permitted to own the Korean kitchen knife which has been in common use from time immemorial. One such knife had to be shared by five or six families and, when not in use, it had to be hung at a spot in full view of the beat of a Japanese gendarme. The report of this American investigator has not been published owing to the official view regarding the inexpediency of its publication.

XIV.

Japan's Hostility to Christianity.

In the belief that Christianity breeds a spirit of self-respect inconsistent with the state of submission demanded by Japanese policy in Korea, the Mikado's government has been envisaging the work of the Christian Missions in the country as opposed to vital Japanese interests. For this reason every effort is made by the Japanese authorities—particularly through their police agents—to discourage and obstruct Christian missionary work in Korea.

A signal instance of this official Japanese hostility to Christianity in Korea is afforded by the cruel persecution of Korean Christians involved in what is known as "The Korean Conspiracy Case" (b).

Is not the gravest indictment of Japan's work in Korea to be read in the fact that Christianity is seriously regarded as a force hostile to the success of the Japanese system of government in the country?

(b) See Appendix No. 2.

XV.

Korea as "One Big Fortress."

With a gesture of achievement Japan points to the material improvements effected by her in Korea. She has built railroads that extend beyond the frontier and penetrate into South Manchuria, which is already within the grip of the Korean railway system. She has constructed highways and streets and set up imposing modern buildings for the housing of the Japanese army of officials "running" the country. And no doubt the sanitary condition of certain urban centers has been improved.

About all this work of "improvement and progress" in the material life of Korea, you can read—every twelvemonth—in the splendidly illustrated pages of the "Annual Report" issued by the "Government-General of Chosen (Korea)." No expense seems to be spared in the preparation and production of this annual publication. It is reckoned among the chief weapons of Japanese propaganda abroad.

But in spite of the "reforms" yearly listed in the "Annual Report," the following arraignment of Japan's policy in Korea continues true and unanswerable. It is from a leading article in the "Shin Nippon," a Japanese newspaper, which had the courage to criticize the Japanese authorities in connection with the "Korean Conspiracy Case":

> "Count Terauchi is trying by every means to crush the rising of the native Koreans against his administration, even at the expense of his countrymen's interest in the peninsula. His press censorship, espionage policy, and factory legislation were all due to his fear of a rising of the Koreans. . . . The Governor-General's desire is to make the peninsula one big fortress, and he seems to regard all those engaged in industrial or commercial work in Korea as mere camp followers within the walls of the barracks."

It is also well to remember that "most of these reforms,

valuable as they are, may be found in a well-regulated penal colony" (c) and that all of them have been effected or introduced at the expense of the Korean taxpayer in the *interest and for the benefit of the Japanese Settler* for whom the Japanese authorities desire to make Korea an attractive field of colonization.

XVI.

Anglo-Saxon Work in Asia.

These are only a few of the ruthless facts featuring the work of Japan in Korea. In aim and spirit, as well as in methods, this work differs greatly from the labors of Anglo-Saxon workers in Asia.

In India and Further India, the Englishman today rules in the interest of the native. He has committed mistakes, and, maybe, he still blunders. But he administers these great regions of Asia as a trust and in the spirit of a trustee.

It is, however, in the Philippines that the work of the Anglo-Saxon as a trustee-nation is seen in terms unobscured by what may be called the ambiguities of imperialism. Here, the American has not been satisfied to work as a trustee for an indefinite period. He has educated the Filipino not only to assist but eventually to replace him in the government of the country.

And late advices from Washington, D. C., indicate that the American is already viewing the independence of the Philippines as a necessary term of the international settlement which is to make the world safe for democracy.

XVII.

The Policy of the Prize-Pig.

But in Korea, the Japanese rules and administers the country in the spirit and by the methods of a Master-Nation or, more accurate, a Profiteer-Nation.

Except in the sense that cattle or slaves must be taken

(c) "The Korean Conspiracy Case," by Arthur Judson Brown, New York.

care if of they are to be of value to their owner, the welfare of the Korean people is not an aim of government with Japan.

The "improvements" loudly advertised in the annual reports of the Korean Government-General are made either for the encouragement of Japanese settlers or in the interests of what may be truly described as the policy of the prize-pig, i. e., for much the same reason that a breeder fattens his pig for a show.

XVIII.

Japan Contra Mundum.

In addition to these reasons connected directly with the fate of the Korean people, the vital interests of the world—particularly the Asiatic interests of France as well as the Asiatic and Pacific interests of Great Britain and the United States—demand the dis-annexation of Korea and the liberation of her people from Japan.

Reference has already been made to Japan's envisagement of Christianity in Korea as an inimical force. And it is possible that the Mikado's advisers bethink themselves of the anti-Christian policy of Caesarian Rome. But the Caesars opposed Christianity as a religion and not—as in the case of Japan today—in the belief that it was a moral and intellectual force that challenged the subjection of an entire nation and its exploitation by the methods of a political slavery.

In trade and commerce, Japan is gradually eliminating the Western trader and merchant in Korea and transferring to the exclusive hands of her own people a business which has had its origin in the series of treaties of peace and commerce concluded between Korea and the Foreign Powers.

In this elimination of Western competition Japan continues true to that instinct for exclusion which, in the past, found expression in her rigidly guarded isolation and which today expresses itself, for instance, in the prohibition of

foreign ownership of land in Japan and in the attempt to *exclude foreign influence in Far Asia* through the application of a false Monroe Doctrine for the Far East.

XIX.

Japan's Continental Policy.

It is, however, in the far-reaching political aims of Japan —realizable eventually through her continued annexation of Korea—that France as well as England and America must be vitally interested.

The danger to the non-Japanese world, including especially the three Latin and Anglo-Saxon powers, lies in Japan's unfettered prosecution of her *continental policy*.

This policy aims, first, at the seizure of the hegemony of Asia through the *domination and control of the man-power and the "natural resources" of China*—possible only by the Japanese possession of the continental *point d'appui* of *Korea*—and, next, at the *mastery of the Pacific Ocean as the sole means of forcing an entrance for Japanese Emigrants, into the rich lands of the Australias and the Pacific seaboard of the United States.*

XX.

The Policy in Operation.

The continental policy of Japan has already found its partial expression in the two successful wars waged by Japan against China in 1894-5 and against Russia in 1904-5 and in the annexation of Korea on August 22, 1910.

The Japanese possession of Korea renders Chinese sovereignty in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia impossible. And with the eventual inclusion of these strategic regions within the territorial framework of Japan's continental policy, the military or the "pacific" conquest of the fat lands of China and 400,000,000 Chinese is inevitable.

This is not the language of hypothesis or prophecy. It is a simple statement of the deliberately expressed intention

and plan of the Japanese Government as set forth in the famous set of *twenty-one demands* which Tokio presented to Peking on January 18, 1915, and secured in certain treaties and notes signed by the Chinese Government in compliance with an ultimatum threatening war (d).

XXI.

The Menace to France.

The eventual domination of China—which the continued subjugation of Korea will enable Japan to secure—is a specific menace to France as an Asiatic power.

The subjugation of China to the military will of a war-organized state like Japan and the necessary entrenchment of the latter in the Chinese province of Yunnan, which abounds in tin and dominates the rear of l'Indo-Chine, must constitute an obviously political and "strategic" menace to the Asiatic dominions of France. And as the continued possession of these dominions by France is a vital element in the prestige and glory of the Third Republic as a world-power, the Quai d'Orsay must, of course, realize the significance of a Japanese hegemony in Asia which is based on the control and direction of Chinese man-power and resources by Japan.

But the menace to France is not a mere "strategic deduction." It is a political reality. Indeed, it is one of the three unavowed aims of Japan; and because it is rooted in *revanche,* the Japanese menace to France will continue an actual danger to the Third Republic.

The Treaty of Shimonoseki.

France's war-debt to Japan dates from the revision of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, when the Tokio Government was forced to agree to the retrocession to China of the Liaotung peninsula, including the great fortress of Port

(d) The Chinese delegation to the Peace Conference are reported to be claiming the abrogation of these treaties and notes on the ground, *inter alia,* that they subject China to Japanese domination.

Arthur, whose cession "in perpetuity and full sovereignty" had been secured by Japan as one of the fruits of her victory over China.

Russia, Germany and France viewed the cession of the Liaotung peninsula as an act demanding their joint intervention and insisted on its cancellation and the withdrawal of Japan from the Asiatic mainland.

Japan obeyed. But she instantly began to work for the reversal of the decree of the Triple Powers, since the possession of the Liaotung peninsula was a vital factor in the successful prosecution of her continental policy. It meant the possession of the threshold of Far Asia, with direct entrance into Manchuria and Korea.

Not only the "necessities" of high policy, but the spirit of revenge spurred on Japan to the vast preparations which culminated in her victorious war with Russia in 1904-5 and regained her the coveted piece of Chinese territory.

The outbreak of the war in 1914 gave her another opportunity to work out her continental policy with its edge of revenge against Germany. Just as she had defeated Russia and supplanted her in South Manchuria so she next defeated Germany in Kiaochow and supplanted her in the Chinese province of Shantung.

The "Ignominious Triple Interference."

It is significant that, while this triple intervention used to be ascribed—before the Russo-Japanese war—to the action of *"Russia,* Germany and France" and since that war, but before the ejection of Germany from Kiaochow—to the action of *"Germany,* France and Russia," the Japanese are now referring it to the action of *"France,* Germany and Russia." For instance, in a recent statement of "The Case for Japan," Baron Makino deemed it necessary to emphasize the fact that the retrocession of the Liaotung peninsula was due to the *"force majeure"* of a "protest from France, Germany and Russia." And Viscount Chinda, another of the Japanese Peace Delegates, has also considered it expe-

dient to explain that his people regard the said intervention as an "ignominious triple interference" (e). These references may seem a little meticulous to the French mind; but they are big with meaning and menace when you know the Japanese mind with its strange, subtle mode of working.

And not the least important consideration in this connection is the fact that a successful Japanese war with France might mean the extension of the territorial system of Japan to l'Indo-Chine which would bring Japan within swifter striking power of Middle Asia and those islands of the South Seas, regarded by responsible Japanese publicists as the "necessary tropical complement" of a Greater Japan, puissant and self-sufficing.

XXII.

The Mastery of the Pacific.

Japan's continental policy menaces the Anglo-Saxon powers just as much as it does France, if not more so.

Japanese imperialists claim that Japan's yearly surplus population justifies the demand for territorial extension involved in her continental policy. And it is said that the "exportable margin" of her population must be sent to Korea, to South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia and the historic provinces of China.

While the emigration of this "exportable margin" may become a serious question in about five more decades if the *"Sexual Law" of the Jungle continues in operation in Japan,* it appears that Japanese propaganda is deliberately exaggerating the facts of the case in order to create a belief abroad that Japanese emigration is at once an economic and political necessity that demands immediate relief.

According to Japanese political thought, this "immediate relief" must be secured through Japanese colonization in Korea and China and, if possible, through Japanese emigration to Australasia and America.

(e) "Washington Star," February 20, 1919.

But the Japanese know that they suffer from *disabilities of physique and character which must prevent them from successfuly colonizing either Korea or China* in the sense of finding a new home in either of these countries.

Their insular and physiographical environment has developed the Japanese into a physical type that cannot thrive on continental Asia and is unfitted, for instance, to withstand the rigours of life on the wind-swept plains of Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. And the conditions of their island-existence have rendered it impossoble for the Japanese to live in tracts of country without that element of the picturesque which the sea and the volcanic origin of the islands of Japan have introduced into every Japanese landscape.

There are historic areas in China where, no doubt, the Japanese could live. But these "places in the sun"—as the Prussian teachers of Japan would call them—are and have been for centuries over-populated by the Chinese themselves.

It is, therefore, elsewhere than on the continent of Asia that Japan must send her "exportable margin" of population. And responsible Japanese publicists make no secret of the national desire for an outlet in the lands of promise lying in Australia and the United States. Thither, however, the Japanese may not go. *But thither he is "determined" to go.*

And just as Japan "prepared" for the war against China and for the war against the Tsardom and was ready when fortune placed Germany within her power and is today "waiting" for the hour when France shall make amends for her participation in the "ignominious triple interference," so Japan is now engaged at the work of "preparation" which is to give complete expression to her continental policy, i. e., *A colossal struggle with the Anglo-Saxon powers to end in the conversion of the Pacific into a "Japanese Lake" and the unrestricted entrance of the Japanese immigrant into Australasia and the United States.*

A Policy of World-Conquest.

A bold conception . . . a thing of audacity; and, perhaps, the Anglo-Saxon may envisage it as a dream beyond man's attempt. But similar schemes of world conquest are not unknown in history; and the great war has revealed the harboring of a like scheme by the German mind. And let it be remembered that the rulers of Japan have organized her as a war-state after the Prussian type and that her continental policy, that is, her POLICY OF WORLD-CONQUEST, has already found expression:

(*a*) in two successful wars which have made her the greatest military power in Asia in much the same way as Prussia's two wars made her the greatest military power in Europe;

(*b*) in the annexation of Korea;

(*c*) in the gradual substitution of Japanese for Chinese authority in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia;

(*d*) in the attempt now being made to secure at the Peace Conference the succession of Japan to German holdings and privileges in the sacred Chinese province of Shantung, including Kiaochow;

(*e*) in the growing subjection of China, with her incalculable man-power and resources, to Japanese domination by and through the same set of methods which made the annexation of Korea a "political necessity"; and

(*f*) in the Japanese possession of the "South Sea Islands north of the Equator," which brings JAPAN NEARLY TWO THOUSAND MILES CLOSER TO AUSTRALIA and gives the Japanese Navy a base which dominates the most strategic and important region of the Pacific.

XXIII.

The Japanese as the "Eternal Priestess."

The Korean people and nation finally submit that the

imposition of Japanese civilization on Korea (*f*) and its spread, through Japan's continental policy, in Asia and the regions of the Pacific are opposed to the interests of the world and to the moral progress of the human race.

Japanese life is disfigured by its dangerous looseness of views regarding the relations of the sexes. Impartial foreign investigators report that, while prostitution infests cities in the West, the vice infests cities and VILLAGES in Japan. It is not only the Government official and *narikin (nouveau riche)* who are clients of the *geisha,* but even the village schoolmaster.

It has been estimated that Japan made, at one time, more out of her women engaged in prostitution abroad than out of her export of coal. This estimate was based on the fact that, when a Japanese sells his daughter for service, he receives Yen 250 per annum for three years. This sum is the equivalent of interest at 5% p.a. on a capital sum of 5,000 Yen. And in pre-war days, there were in Irkutsk 110 Japanese houses of ill fame; and the Japanese as an "ETERNAL PRIESTESS" was to be found in large numbers in every city in Eastern Siberia—in Habarovsk, Blagovestchensk, Vladivostok.

Today, a moderate estimate fixes the number of Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria at 10,000. It is calculated that the consular fees paid by these women cover the entire cost of the Japanese civil administration in the province, each having to pay a monthly sum of (Mexican) $3 to her consul.

The Japanese prostitute is also to be found in every treaty

(f) "Shortly after annexation the Japanese Government permitted Japanese agents to travel through the country selling morphia and developing the morphine habit among the Koreans. Then came prostitutes. Today there are thousands of prostitutes brought over from Japan, who are inoculating Korean society with those terrible evils of social vice for which Japan as a race is almost proverbial. There are the public baths which the Japanese have instituted, where bathing is promiscuous. To Korean modesty and Korean standards of virtue this is a serious menace and will have on the growing generation far-reaching consequences. Between prostitution, public baths and gambling old Korean ideals stand in great peril."—From a recent pamphlet on the Korean Question by J. E. Moore, an American born in Korea.

port in China, in Saigon and other places in l'Indo-Chine, in Bangkok and elsewhere in Siam, in Singapore—where one report states "there are streets of them"—in Penang and then on to India. Here the note of a British observer may be textually quoted: "Streets of Japanese prostitutes in Bombay and Kurrachee. Industry is thriving. They are only waiting the opportunity to push their way into Mesopotamia and challenge competition with the Armenians."

She also flourishes in Borneo, Madagascar, Zanzibar, South Africa; and at one time the "monopoly of recognized prostitution round the coast of Australia was in the hands of the Japanese."

"From Yunnan City to Urga."

A concluding note must be added. It is a quotation from a striking article which appeared in a recent issue of the "North China Daily News," the leading British paper in the Far East. The facts disclosed in the article have compelled the Japanese Government through the Japanese Embassy in London to promise remedial action:

"Everywhere Japanese prostitution, the systematic extension of which from Yunnan City to Urga is such an inspiring evidence of our Asiatic allies, goes hand in hand with the sale of morphia.

> "Morphia, no longer purchasable in Europe, is manufactured now in well-equipped laboratories in Japan and in Formosa. During recent years the bulk of the Persian opium coming into the market has been purchased by Japan for conversion into morphia, for Persian opium yields a larger percentage of morphia than Indian opium. Opium grown in Korea, the cultivation of which it is interesting to note followed immediately upon the closing of the opium shops in Shantung (by the Chinese authorities)—Japanese officials providing the seeds—is an ever-expanding source of the supply of morphia, and, it may be added, of opium required by the (Japanese) administration of Formosa."

APPENDICES

No. 1.

THE ANNEXATION OF KOREA

The following treaty was signed at Seoul on August 22, 1910:

S.M. l'Empereur du Japon et S.M. l'Empereur de Corée, en vue des relations spéciales et étroites entre leurs pays respectifs, désirant augmenter le bien-être commun des deux nations et assurer la paix permanente en Extrême-Orient, et étant convaincues que ces buts pourront être le mieux atteints par l'annexion de la Corée à l'empire du Japon ont résolu de conclure un traité de cette annexion et ont nommé à cet effet pour leurs plénipotentiaries, savoir:

S.M. l'Empereur du Japon,

Le Vicomte Masakata Térauchi, son Résident général, et

S.M. l'Empereur de Corée,

Yen Wan Yong, son Ministre-président d'État,

Lesquels, par suite des conférences et délibérations mutuelles, sont convenus des articles suivants:

ARTICLE PREMIER.—S.M. l'Empereur de Corée fait la cession complète et permanente à S.M. l'Empereur du Japon de tours les droits de la souveraineté sur la totalité de la Corée.

ART. 2.—S.M. l'Empereur du Japon accepte la cession mentionnée dans l'article précédent et consent a l'annexion compléte de la Corée à l'empire du Japon.

ART. 3.—S.M. l'Empereur du Japon accordera á LL. MM. l'Empereur et l'ex-Empereur et à S.A. le prince héritier de Corée et à leurs épouses et héritiers, des titres dignités et honneurs qui sont appropriés à leurs rangs respectifs, et des dons annuels seront faits pour maintenir ces titres, dignités et honneurs.

ART. 4.—S.M. l'Empereur du Japon accordera aussi des honneurs et traitements appropriés aux membres de la maison impériale de Corée et à leurs héritiers autres que ceux mentionnés dans l'article précédent; et des fonds nécessaires, pour maintenir ces honneurs et traitements leurs seront octroyés.

ART. 5.—S.M. l'Empereur du Japon conférera la prairie et des dons pécuniaires à ceux des Coréens qui, à cause de services méritoires, sont considérés dignes de ces reconnaissances spéciales.

ART. 6.—Par suite de l'annexion ci-dessus mentionnée, le gouvernement du Japon prend le gouvernement et l'administration de la Corée et s'engage à accorder l'entière protection aux personnes et propriétés des Coréens qui obéissent aux lois en vigueur en Corée et à accroître le bien-être de tous ces Coréens.

ART. 7.—Le gouvernement du Japon, en tant que les circonstances le premettent, emploiera dans les services publics du Japon en Corée, ceux des Coréens qui acceptent le nouveau régime loyalement et de bonne foi et y sont dûment qualifiés.

ART. 8.—Le présent traité ayant été approuvé par S.M. l'Empereur du Japon et par S.M. l'Empereur de Corée, produira son effet à partir du jour de sa promulgation.

En foi de quoi, etc.

No. 2.

"THE KOREAN CONSPIRACY CASE"

The following extracts are from a pamphlet entitled "The Korean Conspiracy Case," issued in New York on November 20, 1912, as the "outcome of a conference of representatives of all the missionary organizations of the United States . . . conducting work in Korea with several eminent laymen . . . connected with these organizations and whose counsel was sought because their international reputation and their detachment from the missionary interests immediately involved fitted them to give dispassionate advice."

* * * *

The interest of the civilized world has been aroused by the difficulties that have developed in Korea and which

have culminated in the arrest, trial and conviction of a large number of Korean Christians on a charge of conspiring to assassinate Count Terauchi, the Governor General. The circumstances raise some grave questions in which Western peoples are deeply concerned. It is true that from the viewpoint of international law and diplomatic intercourse these questions primarily relate to Japan's treatment of her own subjects; but it is also true that it may be said of nations, as of individuals, that "none of us liveth to himself." Mankind has passed the stage where it is indifferent to what any government does to a subject race.

* * * *

Evidences have been multiplying for more than a year that (the Japanese) military party is now in the saddle. Uniformed gendarmes swarm in Korea, particularly in the north. Secret police are ubiquitous. Spies attend every meeting of Koreans. All organizations are suspected of revolutionary designs. We do not know that they had, but every country in Asia is honeycombed with guilds and societies of various kind, many of them more or less political. The Koreans would be lacking in the commonest elements of human nature if some of them might not have thought of doing what every subject people has done since the world began—take secret counsel as to how the yoke of the alien conqueror might be thrown off.

* * * *

From all political movements, however, the missionaries and the leading Korean Christians resolutely sought to keep the churches aloof. Obedience to the "powers that be" was preached from every pulpit. The church must have nothing to do with politics, the Christians were told. . . . So strong was this determination of the Missionaries and Korean church leaders that it was not uncommon for Koreans outside the churches to taunt Christians with being on the side of the enemies of their country and for the

missionaries to be told that if it were not for them, a revolution would have been started long ago.

* * * *

The missionaries are the great men of Korea. While they cannot control the political activities of the hundreds of thousands of Korean Christians, they have used their great influence to induce the Koreans to acquiesce in the Japanese rule. Indeed, it has often been said that if it had not been for the missionaries, a revolution would have broken out when Korea was annexed to Japan. The Japanese fully appreciate this; but they are restive under a situation in which foreigners apparently have power to make or unmake a revolution among their own subjects. Japanese national pride demands Japanese supremacy within Japanese territory. A Japanese official who sees himself overshadowed by an American Missionary is more or less unconsciously jealous and is apt to feel that such pre-eminence is prejudicial to the interests of Japan and that it must be broken.

* * * *

In the fall of 1911 the Japanese suspicion of the churches began to find more open expression in the arrest of leading Korean Christians . . . many of the men and boys were kept in jail for months without food or clothing for the cold weather, without knowing the charges against them, and without being permitted to have legal counsel. Other arrests were made in other places until a considerable number of Christians were in jail. . . . The number of arrested men that were sent from the provincial towns of Seoul . . . were said by the "Seoul Press" of April 19, 1912, to have been 150.

* * * *

. . . the Japanese authorities announced that they had discovered a conspiracy, that the specific charge against the men and youths whom they had arrested was a participation in a plot to murder Governor General Terauchi, and that under preliminary police examination the accused men had "confessed" their guilt. The public trial began June 28,

1912, before the District Court of Seoul. . . . It is deeply to be regretted that the trial proved to be of such a character as to strengthen the grave fears regarding the methods of the Japanese. The methods of procedure impress a Western mind as peculiar. The lawyers for the defense were not permitted to confer with their clients until shortly before the public trial, months after the prosecution had prepared its case with freest secret access to the prisoners. When their lawyers were given permission to see them, the conversations were in the presence of a scowling police so that the sorely beset men could imagine what their jailers would do to them afterwards if anything was said that did not please them. The enormous voluminous records of the case were not made accessible to the counsel for the defense until it was too late to give them proper study or to verify the allegations of facts. In court, all questions were asked and witnesses examined through and at the option of the presiding Judge. The jury system has not reached Japan, and the whole course of trial showed that the judges had made up their minds before the trial and that they were in effect judges, jury and prosecuting attorneys combined. . . . As the trial proceeded the hostile and unprejudicial attitude of the court became more and more apparent. Innumerable questions by the judges were clearly intended to be traps for the men whom they were trying. When one of the pastors was tripped in a slight verbal inaccuracy, the presiding judge loudly called him "a lying Jesus doctrine pastor" and peremptorily dismissed him. At this the whole court laughed heartily. . . .

Finally, the perversion of justice became so gross that on July 17th, the counsel for the defense boldly refused to proceed and announced that they "felt it proper to state their opinion that the trial was not being conducted in a regular manner and in accordance with Art. 41 in the Code of Criminal Procedure, for the honour of the Imperial Judiciary and with a view to the full defense of the accused," and they therefore applied for the unseating of the Chief Judge

Tsukahara and his colleagues and for a new trial under different judges. The court announced a suspension of the trial, pending appeal to a higher court for the assignment of other judges. The appeal was overruled, and after some delay, the trial was resumed August 23rd, but was brought to a close in the unexpectedly short period of four days. The judges reserved their decision till September 28th when they sentenced 105 of the defendants to terms of imprisonment—6 for ten years, 18 for seven years, 39 for six years, 42 for five years. . . . Among those who received the ten-year sentence was Baron Yun Chi Ho, President of the Southern Methodist College at Songdo and Vice-President of the Korean Y. M. C. A.

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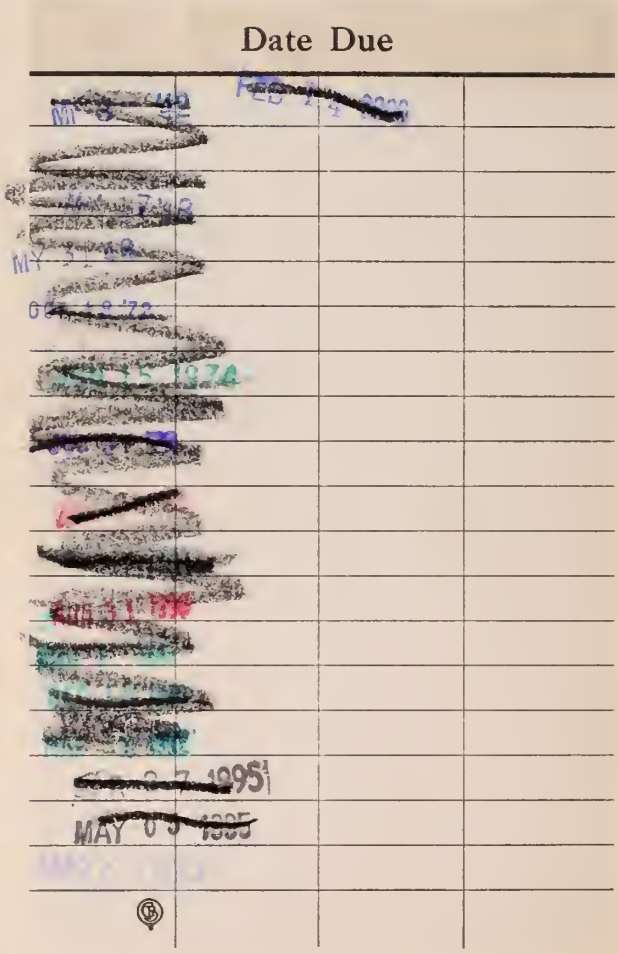
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